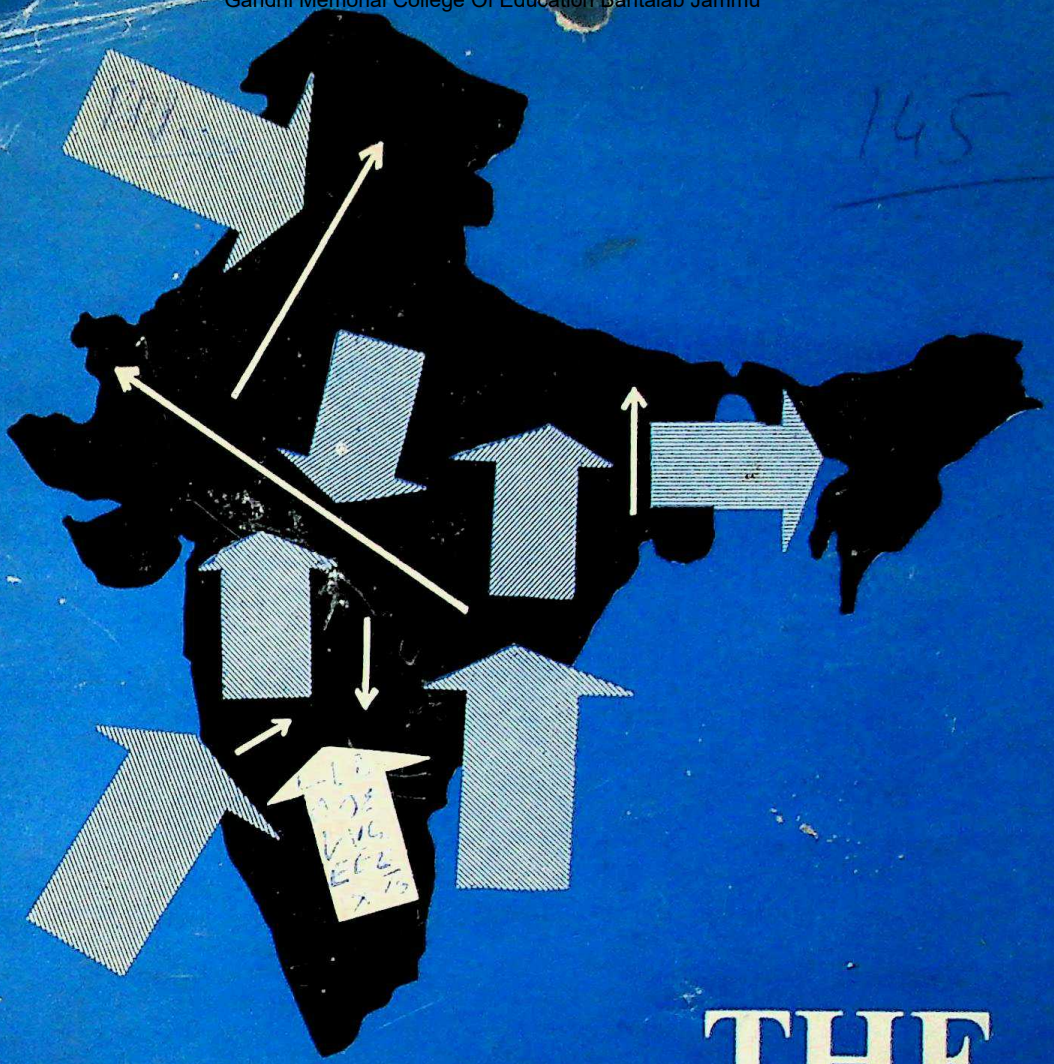
Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu



THE STRUGGLES OF MODERN INDIA

FOREWORD BY DR. GYANCHAND ◻ EDITED BY M. R. SINHA

PUBLISHED FOR INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES, BOMBAY, INDIA

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2023-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

The architect of our nation, late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, did forsee the struggles through which our country has to pass and did forewarn us, to be on the vigil. He Said: "We are tied up in humdrum affairs, but a country with no vision gradually loses energy and perishes."

The "Struggles of Modern India" is a symposium and has x-rayed the problems for the thinking man to know them. A great nation with deep roots of democratic values in her soil has stood the Fourth General Election held in 1967 and which, if analysed scientifically, is a prelude to a democratic revolution.

The book will serve its utility if the problems discussed therein engage the minds of the intelligentsia.

price: Rs. 30 : $ 10 : 50sh

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

THE STRUGGLES OF MODERN INDIA

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

THE STRUGGLES OF MODERN INDIA

(An essay in continuity, change and stability)

EDITED BY: *M. R. SINHA*

FOREWORD BY: *Dr. GYAN CHAND*

"The world, when maintained in accordance with injections of the triple Vedas, will surely progress, but never perish".

--Arthasastra (I, 3), Kautilya

G.M. College of Education
Raipur, Bantalab
Jammu.
Acc. No. 2992 (D)
Dated 31/2/2016

Published For
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES, BOMBAY, (INDIA)

A
A S P
P

ASIAN STUDIES PRESS, BOMBAY-58-AS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

First Published 30th April 1967.

Copyright by ASIAN STUDIES PRESS

All rights reserved. Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism or review, no portion of this book can be reproduced by any process without written permission.

Edited and Published by

M. R. Sinha
23/354 Azad Nagar
Jaiprakash Road
Andheri : Bombay-58-AS

Price : Rs. 30 : $ 10 : 50sh.

Printed by :
A. V. Phadnis at the Phadnis Print-Bind Co.
40-B, Clerk Road, Jacob Circle, Bombay-11

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

PREFACE

The origin of modern India dates back to the days of newsetting of the Indian society after the 1857 upsurge. The process of initiation, by the turn of the century could germinate a modern look among the elite of the country and we may consider modern India taking birth then. The first round of the struggles of modern India was won on the 15th August 1947, when India won freedom.

The second round of the struggles of modern India is incomplete and India is passing through the tensions of the cross-struggles. The theme of the book is this phase of the struggles of modern India. Sixteen experts have written their version of the struggles and have the problems of the country X-rayed for the master—the people, to know and to undo the wrong and to set them right to enable India to emerge victorious.

"A clever servent shows his master
The gleam of triumph or disaster
From good or evil course springing,
And shows him wit, decision bringing."
—Panchatantra

23/354 Azad Nagar
Jaiprakash Road
Andheri : Bombay-58

M. R. Sinha
Director,
Indian Institute of Asian Studies.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

FOREWORD : by Dr. Gyan Chand ix

CHAPTER I : ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Economic Plans and Planning 1
by S. S. Khera, Management and Administrative Research Council, New Delhi.

Devaluation of the Rupee 10
by Dr. Baljit Singh, Professor and Head of the Economics Department, Lucknow University.

Long Period Growth of National Income in India 16
by M. Mukherjee, Planning Division, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

Self-Sufficiency in Food through Material-Management 26
by P. G. Menon, The Editor, Material-Management Journal of India, New Delhi.

CHAPTER II : POLITICAL PROBLEMS

The Indian Political System 33
by P. N. Mital, Department of Political Science, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

CHAPTER III : RURAL PROBLEMS

Towards an Analytical Understanding of Rural Life 44
by S. G. Hiremath, Department of Sociology, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

A Limited Look at Rural Works Programme 45
by B. M. Pande, Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, Ranchi.

CHAPTER IV : SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Sociology and Anthropology in Indian Universities—a plea for re-orientation .. 50
by L. K. Mahapatra, Reader in Social Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubneshwar.

Life Organisation of Siddhis 55
by T. C. Palakshappa, Department of Sociology, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

CHAPTER V : CULTURAL PROBLEMS

Telic Theory of Culture 59
by Dr. A. K. Sinha, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

Youth Culture and its Structural Analysis 64
by N. B. Kashappagoudar, Department of Sociology, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

CHAPTER VI : DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS

People of Chhamb and Jaurian—A Demographic Study 68
by Dr. N. S. Gupta, Post Graduate Department of Commerce, J. & K. University, Jammu-Tawi.

CHAPTER VII : PROBLEMS OF FAMILY PLANNING

Attitude of Women towards Family Planning : A Study in Difference by Family Type in Six Villages of Delhi 78
by Prafulla C. Bebarta, Department of Rural Economics and Sociology, Utkal University, Bhubneshwar.

An Investigation into certain aspects of Family Planning Programme in Urban and Sub-Urban Set-up 85
by Lt. K. C. Panda, Department of Psychology, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack=3.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

FOREWORD

The grave crisis through which our country is passing obviously calls for immediate and effective action, but before this can be done reappraisal of policies and the evaluation of their results is obviously necessary. It is widely admitted that planning has failed in India, and it has failed mainly because it has been seriously at fault from the conceptual standpoint, and in its implementation even, its avowed limited purposes have not been realized. This failure is being made an occasion for discrediting planning altogether and giving free play to the operation of unregulated economic forces and of the monetary mechanism. This attempt has to be understood to be what it really is—an attempt on the part of powerful private foreign and Indian interests to disavow our accepted objective of socialism and put our economy in reverse gear. This attempt has to be foiled, the country has to be awakened to its sinister intent and democratic processes have to be brought into action to foil this attempt. The results of the general election have clearly brought out the sense of dismay with which the position is viewed by our people and the deep and widely shared revulsion which the whole course of development in the country has given rise to.

This is so because ever since its inception planning has been without an honestly avowed and consistently implemented social objectives; and phrases like directives of the constitution, co-operative commonwealth, socialistic pattern of society, democratic socialism etc. have been used as conscience-saving devices and political subterfuges for creating an illusion of a comprehensive and integrated picture without its reality. The result is that there has been hardly any regulation of the private sector, as admitted in the draft Fourth Five Year Plan, from the social standpoint, but even in the public sector industries the values, of the private sector i.e. acquisitive values, have been dominent and have shaped policy and administration. The quantitative achievements of the public sector in irrigation, railways, heavy industries etc., could have been social assets which, given the right understanding and approach, could be used to give a new social content to the working of the strategic section of the economy and steer it in the right direction; but this has not happened because the managerial personnel of these industries, like the planners, have been lacking in fidelity to the avowed social objectives, and their implications and inherent imperatives have not been understood, much less adhered to in practice. This complete lack of the sense of direction is due to the make-believe in planning and administration and the consequent widely-prevailing cynicism and frustration without any integrity of purpose and practice. This fact has to be squarely faced and its consequences fully appreciated. Failure of administration, its ineptitude from the larger standpoint and self-aggradizement, it is so widely admitted, is largely due to the country's inability to tame its power and make it an instrument of a well-conceived integrated social policy. The result is that bureaucrats in high places have assumed enromous authority and power which does not belong to them and have, as events like devaluation and eviction of ministers clearly show, become a dangerous force, and the country is exposed to the serious risk of their (the big bureaucrats') forming a coalition with big business (with whom they are known to be closely inter-laced) and reactionary political and powerful foreign interests to undo whatever planning has taken place and frustrate its objectives with a set purpose. Increasing inequalities and concentration of economic power are the result of the same process of erosion of social norms and values, which has been going on all these years and has now brought the country to the present pass. All this is really implied in the view that the country has been lacking in the sense of direction and is primarily due to the fact that most men in power belong to or are closely allied with the reactionary vested interests. The most urgent changes which the situation calls for cannot be brought about without a radical shift in the power-pattern of the economy from basic units i.e. the villages, small rural urban towns, cities, metropolitan centres and, of course, the political and economic apex of the economy. Significance of this cardinal fact has to be made the core of our thinking on the evaluation of planning and its results and formulation of strategy for the future. This has to be kept in the forefront of the assessment of the past and projections of tasks ahead. Without it our evaluation and projection will be without a central frame of reference.

II.

The Indian economy is a very mixed economy today because it is a very grossly distorted economy. Regulations and controls are completely unconnected with one another and administered in an inept and corrupt manner and have made

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

the economy a traversity both of laissez-faire and controlled economy. It has all the disadvantages of the latter.....blind anarchy in production, dominance of market forces, ascendency of moneyed interests and disregard of social costs—without automatic adjustment to the needs and interests of the producers and consumers, flexibility in operation and elimination of bottlenecks and rigidities—presumptive advantages of a laissez-faire economy. The result is that we are having the worst of both the worlds—of both laissez faire and controlled economies. The economy has not generated dynamism needed to meet the needs of our fast-growing truly explosive population, for redressing derelict economy stuck in the rigidities inherited from mediaeval and pre-capitalistic past and for removing the anamolies of hybrid capitalism in which all levers of power are in the hands of the few, controlled more and more by powerful foreign interests and its frustrating effect on what we call the public sector of our economy, which is really a sector managed and controlled by the men in power who are operating it on the premises suited to an unplanned, private-enterprise economy. This jungle of controls and regulations has grown by the pursuit of ad hocism —short term considerations indicated by the pressures of vested interests and their specific needs. This is true of the way in which the sugar industry has been regulated and operated, but this is also true of industries such as cement, coal, steel, chemicals, tyres and numerous other industries the prices of whose products have on the recommendation of the Tariff Commission been fixed virtually on cost-plus basis, have aggravated the inflationary situation and, of course, enriched greatly the small, microscopically small, minority on top and impoverished the vast majority of the people who, more and more are finding themselves ground down by the weight of the minority standing on their backs. Rationalization of these controls and their integration in an inter-related whole is urgently called for but not in the manner in which, since devaluation, the policy of delicensing, decontrolling and relaxation has been formulated and operated. We are not only having the worst of both laissez-faire and controlled economy but as a result thereof the entrenched interests in power have grown in size, importance and control of the key positions of the economy and tightened their hold on its working apparatus.

III

The failure of the badly needed increase in production of food grains has been attributed to the inability of the Government to ensure that resources will reach particular catagories or will be distributed in a given equitable manner. The allocation of resources in relation to the strength of the units in the field and the position of vantage they command is, according to this view, due to these units being favoured by the ruling market conditions and the pull which they have in the administrative system responsible for the distribution of these resources. This view is valid as far as it goes; but the fixation of targets for food production has since 1951 been made in an arbitrary manner; and from plan to plan estimates of needs, production potential and resource allocation have not followed any pattern which can be explained in terms of requirements and resources on an all-India basis or of individual states. As a matter of fact in the three plans, it is well known that production of food grains has exceeded the growth of population, and if allowance is made for large quantities of food imported under P.L. 480 and otherwise, the only explanation, leaving the special adverse conditions of the last year and the current year, of shortages which the country has experienced can be that owing to increase in income, the elasticity of demand for food grains has been so great that supply has fallen short of demand, and in spite of increase in supply having exceeded the growth of population. This view is based upon a hypothesis which is not supported by any firm data. Elasticity of demand rests upon the assumption that most of the increase in income has accrued to classes who ordinarily go short of food and whose demand for it increases with a spurt when they, owing to development expediture and otherwise, find that they are receipants of a large increase in income. It has to be proved that if this explanation of shortages is correct the classes whose elasticity of demand for food grains is high are in fact in receipt of higher incomes owing to development expenditure, and that is why in spite of large increase in porduction and heavy imports, the country has been suffering from a shortage of foood grains. It is well known that the economic conditions of the landless labourers, small peasants, village artisans, urban casual labourers and workers in unorganized industries have relatively definitely worsened in the planning period, and it is not their elasticity of demand for food which accounts for the prevailing shortage despite the expansion of production of food grains and large imports. The production of food grains (treating 1965-66 and 1966-67 as exceptions), has largely speaking not been a failure from 1951-52 to 1965-66; and if our own resources of food grains had been mobilized and utilized fully, imports under P.L. 480 could have been

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

easily obviated and we could even have built a large buffer stock without imports. All the evil consequences of P.L. 480 imports have followed from our failure to procure and distribute the available food grains and to utilize fully the large production potential in agriculture. Shortages, in other words, are due to administrative failures and not failures in production. The Food Grain Policy Committee has now recommended that our imports of food grains should cease within a short time and whatever imports take place in the next three or four years should be used only for building up buffer stock. The country's large production potential in agriculture is widely admitted and it is also admitted that heavy investment in agriculture is not needed to realise this potential. Given these two assumptions the failure to make ourselves completely independent of food grain imports—particularly P.L. 480 imports—is a political and administrative failure and is not due primarily to the shortfall in production.

This, however, does not mean that priveleged classes have not unduly benefited by the inequitable distribution of resources and the middle and substantial cultivators, who cultivate 80 p.c. of the land, are the most important beneficiaries of public allocation of inputes and credit. The small land holders, the landless labourers and the rural artisans are really worse off despite most probably because of planned development. This has very little or nothing to do with the failure of production of food grains. If the official figures of food grains production are to be taken at their face value there has been no failure in the production of food grains. The failure, as stated above, is the failure to mobilize and distribute equitably the available food grains and utilize the production potential of the country.

The bearing of this point on the future is that though maximization of agricultural production, including the production of food grains, is a highly desirable and attainable object, in the present agricultural sets up, when 80 p.c. of the land is cultivated by a small minority of agriculturists and mostly with the labour of share-croppers and landless labourers, and the vast majority of the rural poor are living in a state of increasing poverty and the prosperity of the minority cannot be and has not been transmitted to the majority, the problem of agricultural production is the problem of building up a new employment-oriented agro-industrial economy with optimum utilization of the available manpower. This is a point, as stated below, of very basic importance. Implementation of agrarian reform is an essential part of this conception of an integrated agro-industrial rural economy, but the latter is a far more comprehensive concept and its realization is primarily a matter of social drive, and of exploitation of classes by the privileged minority, re-organization of agriculture with a view to carving out economic units of cultivation, the highest attainable level of farming technique and, what is most important, utilization of manpower made redundent by rationalization of agriculture through well-planned process of dispersal of industrialization. Intensified and diversified agriculture in terms of local needs and resources and the realization of the highest attainable yields through the most scientific agricultural technique has to be the very pivot of an agro-industrial economy and will involve solution of the problem of food grains supply as a major but not the most important aspect of the new rural economy. Its most important object has to be the full utilization of the available manpower—i.e., it has to be employment-oriented. In one form or the other the need for creating this new framework and new prime movers has been recognized and in theory provided for. But our failure to solve not only the problem of shortages of food grains but the whole rural problem—and therefore the crucial problems of the entire economy, is due to complete failure to build this agro-industrial economy whose paramount and basic importance has been posited in our plans but which in practice has been inexcusably and woefully neglected. Owing to the far-reaching implications of these projects and approach and its highly disturbing social effects from the status-quo standpoint, no effort has been made to analyse and investigate the causes of this truly tragic failure and all kinds of escapist devices like the rural works programme have been adopted to evade the issue and the clear lessons of this experience. The clear lesson that building up of this integrated agro-industrial rural economy involves a real social revolution at the basic level—in our villages— has not been faced and acted upon. P.L. 480 and all that it implies is the outcome of our conscious effort to evade the logic of facts. We could and should have been not only self-relient in food but should have built an economy which would have generated its own investment resources and made us largely independent not only of P.L. 480 but foreign aid-though not technical assistance—in a very large measure. The humiliating pressures to which we exposed ourselves and to which we submitted at the cost of our honour were due to this tragic failure. This was inevitable because the forces in power throughout the economy and in Government and administration

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

could not possibly accept and act upon the revolutionary implications of this concept. We can go on weaving new cobwebs and not clean the old ones if even now we refuse to accept the logic of ' building from below ', the need for which we conceded in words but evaded in fact. This escapist process cannot, however, go on for ever. We have been overtaken by a crisis which makes it imperative for us to act in the spirit of this fundamental concept or we will have to meet new ' freezes ' of promised aids, posit that India has for a decade or more to be a deficit country in food as our Food Minister and indirectly even the Food Grains Policy Committee have posited. This is, however, a defeatist policy and is not at all justified by the facts of the situation. Acts of nature like drought and floods have always occurred and will continue to occur; but our economy can be and should be so developed as to be independent of these vicissitudes. It is possible for us to attain this object without charity of any country and certainly not charity of a country which has used its ' burdensome surpluses' of food, not for peace, but for bullying and brow-beating the countries in distress. We have to realize that this is not inevitable for us. Self-reliant, growing and advancing econmy is a realizable object if we can rise up to the truly revolutionary implications of an economy which, through the well-known concept of oceanic circle of Mahatma Gandhi, can with its own efforts and resources, have all the food—not only food but balanced nutrition that it needs, and also a regenerated populace, providing its essentials from its own resources and provide also for capital formation. We have the means, if we have the will, to fight not only the spectre of famine but lay the foundations of a sound dynamic economy. We must not be found wanting in this hour of trial.

IV

One of the most serious failures of the development programmes under the three plans has been the complete failure of the Government to carry out programmes of integrated development of the rural economy and rural industrialization. This programme has an important place in planned economic development of the country and in its conception was essentially sound and of fundamental importance. With growing unemployment and under-employment in rural areas, increasing fragmentation of holdings and absence of occupation alternatives to over-crowded agriculture the only way in which means can be found for the seemingly impossible situation is to rationalize, intensify and diversify agriculture, eliminate all social parasites in rural economy by implementing honestly a genuine programme of ' land to the tiller ' and establish decentralized small-scale local rural industries for the fullest possible utilization of the idle man power by using local raw materials and resources and pressing into service modern techniques without displacing labour at a rising level of technical performance and falling unit costs. This approach has been an integral part of rural development since 1951 and several schemes of development, e.g. integrated rural credit scheme of the Reserve Bank of India, intensive development and *Gram-ekai* schemes of the Khadi and Village industries Commission and rural industrialization schemes of the Planning Commission. The whole community development programme and the intensive area development programme of the Ford Foundation also have, in substance, a similar purpose and their results have been even more woefully disappointing. The concept of integrated development of rural economy is, as stated above, essentially sound and is intended to centre round rationalized, intensified and diversified agriculture and full productive utilization of available man-power.

The articulation of this programme requires action on an all-round basis and at all stages of action which in effect really means that the programme has to be an integral part of the whole scheme of not only development but also transformation of the entire economy. The utter failure of many attempts so far made to realize this object is due to the built-in aversion to act upon the revolutionary implications of the process of articulation which has led to the complete failure of programmes of developing an integrated agro-industrial economy. The rural industry projects could have succeeded only in the context of a new rural economy. This was the only appropriate policy with which these projects could be backed, but its appropriateness was not the record of the proceedings of various conferences held to consider the rural industries projects makes it clear even conceptually understood and the question of acting upon it, therefore, never arose. In spite of this complete failure the draft Fourth Five Year Plan provides for the rural industries projects and this fact, in view of the known failures of the existing schemes, is really deplorable. This is also true of a large number of other schemes whose failures from the social standpoint are writ large on the whole record of planned development since 1951. Such schemes have added to the infructuousness of our expenditure on investment and therefore aggravated the inflationary situation. A considerable amount

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

of thought has been given to this problem and constructive contributions on this subject have been made. Without integrated action on these lines the problem of agricultural development, unemployment, poverty in rural areas and therefore, stagnation—really deterioration—of the entire economy cannot be solved. But it needs to be clearly understood that radical, i.e., revolutionary changes in the entire economy are absolutely essential if articulated action with regard to this programme has to be taken. The perversity which has made this programme a failure is due to built-in counter-revolutionary trends of the economy as a whole. This is the real truth of the matter and it has to be squarely faced.

V

The question of price stability, and therefore bringing inflation under control, raises a host of issues which cannot be commented upon at any length. Deficit financing, which at one time even economists considered not only necessary but beneficial, has to be stopped—stopped in all forms—including financing public loans by issue of currency and creation of credit by the Reserve Bank of India and the commercial banks. Deficit financing unfortunately is still continuing, but if it continues longer the situation will become even more unmanageable. It has to cease but its cessation is by no means enough. Public retail system and the establishment of a comprehensive price control authority recommended by some very earnest economists will be effective only if 'the various measures of control and the various sectoral and individual prices are related to one another.' This, of course, means that inter-crop, inter-commodity, inter-regional and intra-regional parity of prices have to be realised and the norms of their parities have to be evolved and applied. This means that ad hocism has to be completely and consciously abandoned; but also what may be called 'trailism' which may be taken to imply public regulation of prices in such a manner as to let public prices keep more or less pace with the inflationary level of prices without any attempt or intention to roll them back to a desired level indicated by the needs of social well-being and by the adoption of conscious policy of all sectoral, individual and regional prices in an inter-related and meaningful manner. In the recommendations of the Jha Committee, the Agricultural Prices Commission and even, I am sorry to say, of the Food Grains Policy Committee this trailism is implicit and means that prices have to be held from peak to peak or plateau to plateau of inflationary prices. This is what 'holding the price line' has meant all these years and means still. The result is development financed at the cost of the poorest classes has been the rule and even now open avowal has been made that incomes even of the poorest section of the community cannot possibly keep pace with the inflationary rise in the cost of living. This is what financing of development in India has meant in practice, but it is a wicked doctrine and has to be openly and specifically disavowed. In other words public regulation and fixation of prices has very clearly to be placed on a normative basis and it has to be realized that trailism is not a realistic or objective approach to the problem of price stability but surrender to the pressure of inflationary forces. This normative regulation of prices means, of course, that socially significant and justifiable criteria of price regulation have to be discovered and applied. This, I know, is a highly complicated process, which, as the measure of 'economic reform' in progress in the socialist countries shows, requires a very clear conceptual and empirical approach which in practice involves serious difficulties; but without normative approach public fixation of prices cannot be at all meaningful. In an economy such as ours normative fixation of prices is even more difficult. But the problem cannot be solved by dodging this issue. Merely a public retail price system and establishment of price-regulating authority on the model of O. P. A. and the corresponding system of U.K. suggested by Prof. Gadgil, cannot and will not settle the issue. Conceptually speaking it means that we should have a clear conception of the economy that we want, the process through which it is to be established and how an equitable system of income and distribution of power has to be realized. Equitable prices require an equitable economy and normative fixation of prices necessarily involves value judgements at all points and at all levels. The O.P.A. and the U.K. Price Control Authority never envisaged their tasks in these terms and if our Price Control Authority is to be modelled on them, it will be completely inadequate for the tasks which lie ahead of us.

Inflation cannot be mastered on the assumption on which this point of view is based. It has to be realised that the apparatus of control adopted by the Reserve Bank and the instrument through which it is operated, experience has conclusively shown, have not been equal to the tasks of preventing, combating or remedying inflation. The Reserve Bank and the commercial banks have, as a matter of fact, been responsible for the over-expansion of currency and credit, and their whole approach is based upon premises

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

in which planning and development of a socialist society has no place whatsoever. Their premises are the premises of the Federal Reserve Bank and central banks of other capitalistic countries and are not at all suited to an avowedly planned socialist economy in the making. It is not possible to develope further this point but it may be stated that without nationalization of banks and altering radically the premises on which our credit system, including the working of the Reserve Bank, is operated we cannot have an integrated price structure or a credit system which will serve the needs of a socialist society in its very early stages. The credit institutions in India, as everywhere, are the custodians of interests, values, objectives of the economy which stand self-condemned by the results produced by them. Nationalized institutions like the Reserve Bank or the State Bank of India have in effect been operating without any significant change in their purpose or methods of working and private financial and commercial interests have a decisive voice in their management, working and credit policy. Control of the commercial banks by the industrialists or allocation of credit largely to firms in some of which the directors are themselves interested and without reference to plan or social priorities makes it essential that not only these institutions should be publicly owned, but also the concentration of economic power which they represent and promote should, through their nationalization, be significantly reduced. No amount of social control of these institutions can alter their role as protectors, promoters and preservers of the position and power of the vested interests in the country. The overall limitation of bank credit not only will not provide a credit plan in relation to specific needs or priorities of the economy but will also not remove or mitigate the more important defects of the present credit system and its working. Planned credit has to be an integral part of planned production. In regard to co-operative credit for rural development this need has been admitted. In trade and industry as in agriculture new criteria of credit worthiness have to be formulated and applied which, of course, means that each unit of production, public or private, will have its approved credit as its production plan and credit will be allocated to it according to its assessed credit needs, and collaterals will have no place in the grant of credit. The over-all limitation of bank credit, on which some opponents of nationalization of banks rely so much, cannot possibly serve all these very essential purposes.

A word may be said about devaluation. The events since June 6th have shown clearly that depreciation of the external value of the rupee has not brought any of the advantages which were expected to accrue from it. Our exports have been loosing ground in the international markets; even jute, one of the two most important exchange earners, has been loosing ground. The export of our engineering goods has also been disappointing. Even according to official indices our price level has risen by 15 p.c. since devaluation and real rise of prices, as is well known, has been much higher and the prospect of our receiving foreign aid, in the expectation of which we devalued the rupee, has definitely worsened. In June 1966 there was no urgent necessity for devaluing the rupee. Our prices had risen but our export had been expanding since 1961 and their unit prices had not increased since that year. The view that devaluation had become necessary owing to excessive rise of our prices, of course, means that without it our economy would have been exposed to serious risks owing to the loss of export markets and otherwise. No reason has, however, been given in support of this conclusion. My own opinion is that devaluation was neither unavoidable nor desirable; and the undeniable fact that it was imposed upon us by the excercise of illegitimate pressure shows how we have placed ourselves in a very vulnerable position both from the economic and political standpoints owing to our heavy dependence on foreign aid. The moral of it all is that not only this dependence has to be greatly reduced but the alignment of interests and forces which devaluation represents is a very serious danger to our future and calls for immediate effective counteravailing action. The fact of increasing inequalities and deterioration in the economic conditions of landless labourers, small peasants, village artisans, workers in unorganized urban small industries and casual labourers is incontrovertable. The phenomenal increase in the salaries of the managerial personnel in private industries, commerce and banks shows how non-egaliterian forces have become stronger since independence in our economy. The need for a definite curb on these incomes is absolutely essential from every point of view, but what is even more necessary is that definite steps are taken to improve the position of the disadvantaged sections referred to above and an income structure is built up in non-agricultural sectors between floor and ceilings of incomes with differentials justified by economic and social conditions. For both these purposes it is necessary to excercise overall control over trade and industry and take over whole-sale trade both internal and external, and acquire public control of all key points in the economy and effective control of prices. In agriculture,

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

however, mere control of agricultural prices will not give us a rational income structure with floor and ceiling. For this purpose it is imperative to build an integrated agro-industrial economy referred to above which, among other things, should provide agricultural incomes comparable to the non-agricultural incomes. With the present inequitable distribution of land and the vast majority of the cultivators having small uneconomic holdings or being landless, there can be no floor for agricultural incomes and ceilings on these cannot be imposed without having a ceiling also on non-agricultural incomes. All these changes are of immediate interest and importance. An integrated income structure for the economy as a whole will have to be built when its existing anomolies have been removed and a rational socialist economy has been brought into a good working order. This, at present, however, is a remote prospect and only of academic interest.

VI

It has been earnestly suggested that we should rely mainly upon an overall regulatory frame for remedying the serious evils of the economy. According to this view economies of the industrialized western nations work under a general regulatory control and the need for an effective regulatory frame is far more urgent in India. The full implications of this view need to be further elucidated, but if it means that we can build a socialist economy in this country and bring about the radical changes which are so urgently needed by creating a more effective regulatory frame, its inadequacy—even irrelevances—in the context of actual needs is self-evident. It is now widely admitted that our policies have been shaped by and in the interests of the status-quo forces and the concentration of resources in the interest of the privileged classes has increased only because the large masses, whom the development by this method does not touch, are ignorant and acquiesce. A situation like this cannot possibly be corrected by an effective regulatory frame. A regulatory frame has to be set up and operated by the men in power and if it is in their interest that the paramountcy of vested interests should continue a regulatory frame, howsoever effective, cannot change the distribution of power and introduce a new social purpose in the working of the economy. A regulatory frame does not set its own direction, develope its own purpose and determine its modus operandi. A regulatory frame which may be needed by and be adequate for developed western economies will be completely inadequate for us and will not provide corrective action needed for remedying the ills and aberrations of our economy. It is at best a tool and cannot have a mind and purpose of its own. In India what is urgently needed is a real social revolution. This is an inescapable necessity and if it is successful and leads to the establishment of a socialist society, it will create its own regulatory frame which, it may be hoped, will be both effective and flexible and serve the highest interests of the community. An effective regulatory frame cannot be an alternative to or substitute for a real socialist revolution. Our immediate task is to bring about an awakening among the masses, develope a social drive and organize them in order that they may not acquiesce in development designed for and in the interest of the privileged classes. This is the conclusion to which most of the facts of the situation point very clearly. Provision merely of a regulatory frame cannot provide the necessray corrective. No attempt should be made to escape from this conclusion. It points to the urgent need for building up the strength and defensive power of the masses to carry out the tasks so clearly indicated by the logic of facts.

Planning has failed in this country because of the faults and inadequacies of our planning appara tus, planning processes and planning techniques. It has really not been planing at all but its own negation. I cannot develope this point here but corrective action for removing the defects of planning should involve evaluation of the objects and methods of planning. The demand for abandoning planning altogether and substituting it with what is called indicative planning is being raised by the interests which themselves have been against planning from its very inception. Manifest abuses and perversion of planning have produced the present dismal situation and the way out is not to scrap planning or introduce its shadow indicative planning, but to understand the essentials of planning, create the apparatus at all levels for carrying it out, radically change our administrative system and, what is most important, create, develope and mobilize the strength and will of the people by which the evil designs of Indian and foreign vested interests can be countered and defeated. In other words the power of money has to be tamed and the creative potential of the people has to be generated and realized.

Gyan Chand.

New Delhi–7

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

ECONOMIC PLANS AND PLANNING

by S. S. Khera

The subject of my working paper is Economic Plans and Planning. The immediate context of course is the situation concerning economic plans and planning in our own country, India. It is not intended to be an abstract, comparative, or other analysis of the subject in general.

My own credentials are somewhat limited. As Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Production for four years from 1954, and subsequently as Secretary in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel for about a similar period, I was involved in a certain amount not so much of planning as such, as of, struggling with planning in and around the Planning Commission. Then I became the Cabinet Secretary in early 1962, and I found myself also designated as Planning Secretary. This propelled me into the heart of the Planning Commission, a situation which frankly I did not find either congenial or particularly instructive or something that one could enthuse over. However, I was in at the centre of the confusion which was the beginning of the formulation of the Fourth Plan ; and within a very short time, and also because my more legitimate work as Secretary to the Cabinet and Principal Defence Secretary demanded my attention I begged to be excused from the Planning Commission. Also, I thought that the Cabinet Secretary of the Government of India should not be involved in the Planning Commission's internal gyrations. With a good deal of hesitation and difficulty I was finally excused, and that was the end of my association with the Planning Commission ; thus, I have not been involved in the Commission's processes. Nevertheless I did keep a friendly and close watch on the Planning Commission and its workings because of its import upon the economy and welfare of our country and of the Prime Minister's nominal involvement as the Commission's Chairman.

I propose to submit in this paper what to me appear to be marks of good planning, to measure against some of them the actual experience and performance in India, to draw what conclusions I can, and perhaps to end up by making a few, a very few, suggestions for possible action.

This may be regarded partly as an academic exercise, academic in the sense that I think it is academically important, and that it is necessary and desirable that in the colleges and universities throughout the country the planning process, and economic planning in particular, should come under much greater, wider, closer, sharper discussion than has been the case in the past. This absence of study and discussion in our academic institutions is, I feel, a serious shortcoming in the overall national effort towards economic development.

Perhaps I might here get the definition of planning stated and out of the way. The most recent one is as good as any, namely, that planning is nothing more than a careful, a very careful husbanding of scarce resources. It is so defined by Mr. Morarji Desai. I think it is good enough for our purpose. It is nothing new of course. But it is good enough ; a very careful husbanding of scarce resources. Now as to the word "husbanding" I do not quite know in which sense Mr. Morarji Desai meant it, because a Finance Minister tends to husband his resources too closely to his chest and he was India's able Finance Minister not so long ago. I interpret this in terms of good husbandry ; and good husbandry means in common-sense terms the looking after of one's resources, the proper deploying of these resources, and putting them to good and active and productive use, so that one may increasingly prosper. I believe this is the sense in which Mr. Desai used the term.

Also let me get out of the way what seems to me an endless, very frustrating, and if I may say so a very silly argument that goes on over the concept of planning, by simply postulating that to my mind planning is an essential process, an inevitable process, and there is no escape from planning. It does not matter whether you are in Communist China or in Communist Russia, in free enterprising America or in the mixed economy (not too mixed and muddled, one might hope) in our own country ; and whether it is one's private life or public life or whether it is a small-scale or a large scale activity. No ordered human activity is possible without planning ; and therefore, we should avoid argument as to whether planning is a good or a bad thing, whether it is necessary, or if we could do without it. There is no escape from planning.

What we should question rather is the quality of such planning as there is. For good, sound planning brings benefit and rewards and success ; and good economic planning brings prosperity. Contrary-wise, bad planning brings failure, loss, disaster ; and bad economic planning brings bankruptcy. This is sure and certain, whether

*The first of two lectures delivered by Mr. S. S. Khera, Honorary Professor, Osmania University, at Hyderabad on 18-11-'66.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

you are carrying on a small business, or a big one, or even no business at all, but just living upon your means ; or whether it is a State among the constituent States of India, or whether it is a group of national planners, or the nation as a whole. If your economic planning is bad, then inexorably there will follow, as the case may be, individual bankruptcy, State bankruptcy and national bankruptcy.

Therefore it is, I think, that we should give some attention to distinguishing some criteria, if we possibly can, by which to distinguish good from bad economic planning. Here it seems necessary to recognise at once that mere good intentions and motivations are far from enough, and indeed can be almost irrelevant to sound planning. Let us beware of the do-gooders. " He is a good fellow, therefore, he must be a good planner. He means well, therefore his proposal must be sound ". I utter this caution, not so much because it is true in the abstract, but because it is one of the commonest fallacies which prevail, and upon which investment decisions are taken, risk decisions are taken and planning decisions of all kinds are taken.

What then are some—and I say some because I cannot attempt here by any means to be definitive—what are some criteria which we can apply to economic planning ? Are there any guidelines at all ? Or must we wait until the results appear, until we are prosperous or we are bankrupt ? I believe that a few tests may be set out.

One criterion is the statement of sound, proper and fairly clearly defined objectives. These objectives in the case of national economic planning must not be objectives which somebody sitting in an ivory tower of economics thinks up, or even that a party in office might think up. The objectives must be such as are socially desirable to the nation as a whole, including the significant minorities ; and they should be such as are not merely desirable but are broadly acceptable to the people as a whole. I would caution here against undue idealism. I am a radical myself and I am not ashamed of it ; I believe in a socialist state and see no reason to be ashamed of it. But that is no reason why in the course of the planning process I should import into it any ultimate socialist state or any ultimate utopia. In devising that husbanding, and careful husbanding, of the people's scarce resources which is planning, it seems to me essential that the objectives must be such as are acceptable to the people as a whole, and that these objectives are also seen to be within foreseeable reach. We will come to perspective planning later. But unless objectives are within foreseeable reach, and can be quantified within that end, they do not, I submit, constitute any sufficient base upon which to build a plan.

It remains to say that upon the criterion of defined and acceptable objectives within foresee-able attainment much of the planning process at the so-called national level in India must be regarded as not having proved very successful.

Next, there are some criteria as to the methodology of planning. The first amongst these in the case of the planning process is that the planning process itself should be an ordered process, and a planned process. And as we shall see in a later part of my submission, this is another of the tests against which our planning in India must be regarded as not having been too success-ful.

There are techniques available to order and plan the planning process. In our own country, and also elsewhere (and we Indians are fond of running after experience elsewhere, but even for those who are not fond of running for experience elsewhere) there are plenty of down to earth, commonsense, understandable, practical techniques available. A principal one which comes to mind immediately consists of what are known as the Critical Path Method and Network Analysis, PERT, and techniques of that general category. We hear a great deal about the application of Critical Path Method to the planning and setting up of a project, or to the running of a project. I wish that some of these techniques could have been effectively brought to bear upon the planning process itself as a whole. If that had been done, and the scientific disciplines of CPM and PERT applied to our national planning process, we might have found ourselves in a better state than we are today, right in the middle of the Fourth Plan, and there is no authoritative or valid Fourth Plan in sight.

Then, it seems to me that we should test a planning process by the arrangements which subsist for the feeding back into the planning process itself of the experience gained in time. The experiecne will be a mixture of pluses and minuses. In order to make a plan which will work, and not remain a mere document of record, whether it be for five years, or even for one year, it is essential to have an arrangement whereby an error—and error is inevitable and will hap-pen—whereby the correction for the error is fed back quickly enough. And here again, there are methods available, practical, common-sense methods, of which many of our planners seem

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

blissfully unaware. I think we could, we should, devise and employ feed-back systems in the planning process. This does not require, at this stage of process, any very sophisticated computarization of planning. Everybody seems to want a computer; as soon as one scientist gets a computer, all other scientists want to get computers too. But computers can and do lie idle; they are machines, and a computer can only produce results from what you feed into it; and what you feed into it has to come from human thought. Any attempts which may have been made to use a computer as an aid to planning or to provide a link in a feed-back system have so far been minimal, if not positively negative in their results.

Then, as part of planning methodology there should be in the process of national economic planning a system of communication: communication which is continuous, communication which is multi-way. This signifies much more than the existing system of masses of information being fed into a central point, and the central point then producing nicely rounded plans which in practice have to be implemented by a tremendous spread and variety of agencies, Central and State, public and private. The planning process itself needs continuous multi-way communication of an extent, kind and quality of which hardly the seeds exist at present.

There should be much more public discussion and debate; not too much debate but certainly sufficient discussion, and in the open. What we get is too much debate and too little discussion; and much of what discussion there is, is held behind closed doors, and on papers marked secret. I often don't know why matters are kept so secret in Government echelons. I was sent a paper the other day bacause I had been asked to go and attend some review committee or conference. And this particular Ministry sent me a bunch of papers containing useful information. One of the papers looked interesting, and I thought it would be a good thing to put it about a bit. Promptly came the answer, "Oh, No. It is confidential; it is secret". The argument went on for a couple of days. I let it go on for a couple of days. Then I wrote in politely and said this was a paper published by a foreign government. It had a price printed on it. It was freely available in the book-shops, and it was useful, and deserved wider circulation so that people might think about it. Now this was within the last few months. I think there is not merely enough flow of communication, flow of information and discussion.

The planning process must be adaptable to changes in circumstances. There are those who construct a plan and then if there is a change they say: "We don't know where we are; we don't know what to do now. Let someone else find a way". It is inherent in life that circumstances will change. It is inherent likewise that circumstances will change unexpectedly. And so one of the tests, one of the criteria by which we must judge the planning process is the adaptability of that process to change—to changeability, to changed circumstances.

It is partly, if not largely, for want of this adjustability, adaptability, and quick response to change that we find ourselves without a Fourth Plan. Why? Oh, we had the war with Pakistan; Oh, we had devaluation; Oh, somebody died, somebody came, somebody went, something else happened; there was drought; there was a flood; a hundred things. Well, as a good old secretariat bureaucrat let me say that this is a exercise which I personally have some experience of: the production of a alibis. But for the people to accept, and for the nation to say nothing effective about it; that I think is the real danger.

Finally, it seems to be a requisite in the methodology of planning to provide and prescribe that the planning process discover and set out precisely and to everyone's knowledge the assumptions upon which the plan is based. You cannot make a national economic plan without making some assumptions–just as you cannot formulate a project report without making assumptions, this, even after the most exhaustive studies and preparations. Assumptions must be made, and must also be stated, so that the assumptions themselves can be tested, and duly discounted or provided for. And it is one of the weaknesses of planners and planning that they are very garbled about their various and varying assumptions. Garbled, for when something goes wrong there can always be produced an assumption which was not taken into reckoning, or thought of in the making of the plan. One of our distinguished planners had put out in the newspapers that the Fourth Plan draft was based upon three assumptions. He listed those assumptions. They seemed to have been thought up recently, rather than formulated and incorporated in the draft national plan.

That is the essence of our national planning, which turns out to be a somewhat unplanned process. As I have said earlier, the planning process itself has to be planned. You can't just grabble around and produce a plan. You have got to plan your process. Besides arraying

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

the assumptions upon which the plan is based, there should also be a statement, and an assessment, of the variables. What are the variables that are incorporated in the plan? For, as in a project report,—and a plan is a project report on a different scale—there will be variables to be taken into reckoning in making a plan. It is a test of skill in the formulation of a plan or of a project, both of which deal with investments, economic investments, economic activities, as to whether you can array the variables and take them sufficiently into account. On the impossibility of selecting and taking into reckoning more than a few significant variables I will refer in dealing with what has come to be known as perspective planning.

Let us take a brief look now at the agencies of national economic planning. One gets the picture of a large base down on the ground, and a pattern rising through intermediate stages to an apex high up above somewhere—not too high up into the clouds perhaps, but quite high up; a sort of a pyramidal structure of planning agencies. But a pyramidal concept of national economic planning seems a singularly inappropriate one, except for very limited functions. National planning is the sum total of all the economic planning within the nation. The planning agencies form, or should form (for they hardly do so at present), a complex matrix—a complex matrix of social, economic, constitutional and legal, technological, political, managerial and administrative and academic elements. I haven't brought in the academic elements merely because I am drawing attention of academicians, I assure you. I think academicians, if I may use the term for a moment, should be playing a much greater part in this planning matrix of the nation.

A great deal of argument and disputation goes on as to who after all are the final experts in planning the nation's economic development. The economists say, "We are, of course; this is economic planning; we are economists; look at our models, here is a new model, and if you don't like this one give us till next week, or next month, or whenever, and we will produce another model." There is no want of econometric models, just as there is no want of slogans. The technologists or technocrats say, planning is a highly technical process, involving other technical and scientific processes, and it should be left to the scientists to design all your plans. To confuse the issues, you had a remarkable planner, and a remarkable administrator like Dr. H. J. Bhabha, and the scientists say there you are, see what a scientist can do. Forgetting that Dr. Bhabha, we have so grievously lost, would have been a distinguished administrator in his own right, scientist or no scientist, he would have been a distinguished economist in his own right, and he would have been a distinguished planner in his own right. The administrators, people like myself, we say, well, we are the ones who matter, we are the ones who finally advise the gods in office, we are not only walking statutes to—what was it that somebody called the Indian Civil Servants the other day, "living statutes to slavery", we are not really living statutes to anything, but we are in fact the real stuff; we are the real and final advisers, and we must deal with things finally; so let the others be on tap and not on top.

The only ones who get squeezed out are the academicians. They are shy, they are sensitive or touchy; they are diffident and they get frustrated. Their frustrations then come out in all kinds of unhappy ways, unhappy for all of us, as we have experienced only too well recently.

I would submit that the planning agency of a nation such as ours—and indeed of any nation—consists of the totality of the nation; and in this very complex matrix every element that makes up the national whole is essential and every element constantly has a part to play and a contribution to make; and to ignore even one of them imports into the planning process and therefore into any resulting plans and planning, grave defects and even fatal defects.

Parts of the matrix consist of the parliamentary process, in the States and at the Centre, the Central and State governmental and semi-governmental agencies. But that is not the whole of it, by any means. Every citizen is a planner, just as he is a voter; and it should be his business to participate; and if he finds himself not participating or not allowed to participate, or not having the opportunity to participate in the process of national economic planning, he should do something about it.

Let me dwell here a little on a rather special aspect as to planning agencies, the relationship of the Centre and the States. The days are gone, I think, when you had an over-powering charismatic figure at the Centre, at the crack of whose whip everyone came to order and everybody ran like mice. I have seen them run. I think that, constituted as we are, it would be a mistake not to interpret and translate into the planning process one of the facts of life—a fact of life which incidentally happens to be to my own liking—namely, the autonomy of States. I am an

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

autonomist by nature, and I have found in practice throughout my association in administration and management that you get the best results from people when they can function autonomously, without too much interference, and when as autonomous entities they can at the same time participate suitably and fully in the decision-making processes at all levels.

The States and the State Governments and the State legislatures are going to play increasingly a very much more vital role even in matters affecting the nation as a whole and not merely their own State. If only this had been recognised soon enough after our first great Prime Minister died and was not available any more for every planner to rush to and to sign anything, out of his kindness, that was placed before him and then get it implemented, knowing he could make anything, even the worst of plans work, they would have taken effective action by now to get over some of the hurdles which they have run into, are running into—and let me be so bold as to predict, they will increasingly run into—in dealing with the States.

The States are India, the States are the country, the States are the nation. There are no ballot boxes in the Central Government. The ballot boxes are all in the States. There is where the power lies, quite apart from any arguments about autonomy and participation. I mention that as a matter of special significance in considering planning agencies, because here is something which I think needed some special emphasis—something which has not been really recognised quickly enough, sharply enough, effectively enough.

Now, let us look at personnel. I have said that planners are the nation as a whole. Unfortunately the planning process in India has not consisted of the nation as a whole ; it has consisted of very small numbers of people. They are called planning experts.

It is argued that planning needs specialised skills ; and of course it does, at certain points. But where you have a specialised agency set up to do something, it goes without saying that that specialised agency must in fact be specialised. There must also be competence, and there must be ability. There must be an attitude and there must be an aptitude. It is no good taking part in the planning process towards the objectives which are set before you for a few years, and then retire and join an organisation or a Party and say planning is bad in itself, and therefore should be abolished. Unless you are a political adventurer—I have no objection to political adventurers, and find them a rather endearing object of study—it is something to watch for, amongst those who are involved in the specialised planning processes and to test them out on their attitudes, their aptitudes, and also of course upon their competence and their abilities ; and above all, their ability to comprehend the nation's wants, the nation's goals.

You cannot sit in the Secretariat in Delhi ; you cannot sit in Yojana Bhavan, you cannot sit in Lucknow and say you comprehend these wants. You can call for all the statements in the world ; you can call all the people in ; you can have meetings day and night ; you can sleep in Yojana Bhavan if you like ; people do in any case. But it will not enable the planners to comprehend the nation's needs. Now I am not trying to be wise and I am not trying to be smart, at least consciously. Of my 37 years in the Government service, I served about 25 years in the districts ; and within a year of leaving the districts, I became aware that I was no longer in touch, that I could not really understand what was going on. I think you can get out of touch within a few weeks, leave alone a year.

Then we must test those in charge of special, or specialised agencies, against their own constitutional, political, legal and administrative responsibility. The planner should be constitutionally and politically responsible and answerable ; he should be legally answerable and responsible ; and he should be administratively responsible and answerable.

I submit that here lies one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Indian Planning Commission. A member of the Planning Commission is appointed without selection ; he is appointed as a political nominee. He is given the rights and privileges of a Minister, a Minister of the Central Government, and these privileges and the attendant prerequisites are quite high ; he draws a full salary ; is given a free furnished house at considerable public expense, and it is maintained for him. He has a remarkable security of service. He can stay in office as long as he likes ; every effort to put a term of years on it has been resisted and defeated. He is not subject to the administrative process of selection, to the need of which Parliament constantly draws attention, nor does he pass through any known elective process. He is not subject to the Government Servants Conduct Rules, or does not appear to be, to judge by actual practice. He is not answerable to Parliament.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

This lack of Parliamentary accountability seems to me to be one of the fatal weaknesses in Indian planning. We even had a time when the executive or the administrative head of the Planning Commission, known as the Deputy Chairman, was a different person from the so-called Minister of Planning, who was a mere member and also had his own full-time responsibilities as Minister for Labour, and the Chairman was the Prime Minister, who participated rarely in the whole planning process. How could a Planning Minister who was not in administrative charge of the Planning Commission answer for the Planning Commission in Parliament? The plain truth was that he could not. It is only very recently, when an outsider has been brought in to head the Planning Commission, that he has subsequently been appointed also to be Planning Minister, and has to stand on the floor of Parliament and answer.

That I think is a great improvement. Nevertheless, I think, constituted as we are, without this constitutional, legal and administrative responsibility, answerability and discipline embracing each member of the Planning Commission, this is a weakness which has projected itself through all the echelons of the central planning complex of India. It has had some even worse effects; for one thing, it has led to stagnation. If you cannot remove an office holder, he will tend to stay as long as he possibly can. I believe there was a dispute going on amongst the members of the Planning Commission, over the perpetuation or otherwise of the Planning Commission's members. One or two of them have gone to fight an election at the forthcoming General Elections.

But inertia breeds inertia, till it becomes necessary to push the whole thing out of the way and start afresh. In addition to a clear term or period of office, there should be a prescribed, and duly enforced, system of discipline and conduct. I am far from saying what my friend Mr. M. R. Masani—with whose views on economics and national problems I have little in common—is reported as saying, castigating the inmates of Yojana Bhavan as a lot of charlatans and mountebanks. I do not go as far as that. But nevertheless I think that it is necessary to see as to what exactly they are, because on the answer to that may be found some of the causes for the state in which we find ourselves again today, without a Fourth Plan.

Then, I think any planning process must be considered in relation to resources. I am not here going to say anything more than this, namely, to point out that this relationship to resources both internal and external has to be a real and realistic relationship, and not a matter of making totals and putting in figures to be filled in or moneys and funds to be found by taxes which you know will not come in or will not be levied and foreign aid which you know you have no hope on earth of getting.

Where has all this planning taken us as a nation? Very briefly, I think the results today consist of the following position:

Firstly, the state of the Fourth Plan itself: it does not exist; there is no authoritative Fourth Plan today. Yesterday's newspapers said that it has been put off now. Today's newspapers contradicted it, with something to this effect: "It has not been put off; it is only being put off" What can one make of it? An alibi in advance? For, despite all the promises, protestations and positions taken up, I believe that it is going to be difficult, if not impossible, for the draft plan to go through on to the statute book before the General Elections.

Secondly we as a nation find ourselves in national, economic disarray. We find ourselves under a quite serious threat of national bankruptcy. This has little relation to the drought in Bihar and U.P.; or to anything that could not have been foreseen and taken into account in our national planning. The threat of national bankruptcy is to be related directly to the failure of the planning process.

We are confronted with what is a little sheepishly admitted all around, a widening in the disparities instead of narrowing of the disparities in incomes and standards of living between the different segments of the population. People are reported as proudly going around saying "Ten years ago I was a pauper; today I have so many crores", while on the other hand more people are close to starvation than has been the case for decades. This widening of disparities is a general impoverishment of the whole nation.

Accompanying this is a sort of neocolonial domination which is coming about. Our first Prime Minister was very conscious of this. He was constantly alert on this. That was why many things could not happen which have happened since. There is an arrogance amongst the foreigners—a new-found arrogance—a new-found attitude when they talk to us or about us and talk about our economy and talk about our prospects of economic, democratic or national survival. And while I do not say that the Bihar

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

drought is one of the results, I do say that the agricultural failure before us is certainly the fault of defects in our planning process; the nation has not had the chance to become self-reliant in agriculture, to build up a margin of strength and reserves to meet just the kind of situation created by this year's drought. On the contrary, increasing dependence on aid from abroad has had a serious emasculating effect upon the strength and morale of the nation. Putting off the day when we must rely upon ourselves has not helped us; and the same foreigners who provided the aid are not slow to read us the obvious lessons now.

This leads us to one main cause of our present plight: the population explosion. This was something that could be seen coming. Now the population explosion is a statistical projection, and perspective as well as other planners could have seen this coming; but only now when it is almost too late we are agitating ourselves. And what planned action is there even now, except that we are providing so many crores in the Plan to promote family planning? The population is now over the five hundred million mark, and still increasing at a prodigal rate.

We might examine briefly now what I may call some myths, or mistakes and fallacies. Firstly, there is this myth of a central omniscience. It is fed by a lot of people from the field; and is accompanied by a myth of central omnipotence. "Refer it to Delhi, and all will be well. Ask Delhi, for they will provide." The poor rabbits in Delhi just run around not knowing what to do; but no one seems prepared to admit ignorance. The essential intellectual and moral humility seems lacking.

Another myth, and a dangerous one, is that of a planning mystique. As if planning is something that only some high priests of planning can deal with: something almost mysterious is made of the whole planning process. One form in which it manifests itself is what might be termed the occupational pathology of plan documentation. More papers, more notes, more statements, more information, more analyses, more meetings, more records and so it goes, on and on, round and around. I believe the consumption of paper alone should provide a useful research project. But there is a whole pathological state in which the planning process seems engulfed. There is nothing really mysterious or very involved in the planning process, and in the application of the appropriate techniques of forecasting, estimating, calculating, projecting and so on. If we could lay this particular myth of a planning mystique, then perhaps the nation as a whole could evolve the sorely wanting matrix of a national planning process.

Then there is the myth of economic and econometric model panaceas. "Produce a model and all will be well, and we can construct a national plan upon it". "My model is better than the other fellow's model; therefore you must abide by my model; otherwise I won't like it, otherwise I will sulk". And associated often with model-making especially amongst the practitioners of perspective planning is the phenomenon of strange mathematical formulas. I am not a much of a mathematician, but respect mathematics for what it is, the queen of all the sciences. A formula stated in terms of an algebric equation, or in terms of a statistical abstraction, can appear compellingly logical and valid. And the most pathetic victims of these exercises are often the experts who devise them, leaving out of reckoning all too often one or more essential elements in the premises they assume; such, for instance, as the effects of a particular tax system or of a particular political situation, or the real prospects of foreign aid, trade balances, and terms of trade.

Then we have the myth of perspective planning. This peculiar activity has exercised a strange fascination, an odd influence, in the Indian national planning process, professing to portray a sort of balanced, equable state of the economy many years ahead. But the social conjuncture changes, the economic conjuncture changes, the political conjuncture changes—all sorts of things happen, often at short, unexpected intervals, and in unforeseen ways. Well, if you can produce a perspective plan importing into it all the variables likely to affect it in any substantial way, then I say you are welcome to do it; and we should all be grateful for it. But what happens is the other way about, and we have perspective plans based upon unreal assumptions, and no proper provisions for the variables; so that a perspective plan prepared five years ago is a useless piece of paper today; as worthless as last year's newspapers.

I think that we have become victim to a false vision into future states. We have not even questioned the nature of perspective planning and its false glamour. We are so innocent, in this nation of ours, so ready to accept anything put before us; we have not even questioned as to what a perspective is. A perspective is something that ends in a formless point. Any person who makes architectural drawings will tell you about it. What is at the end of that perspective?

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Something more than a dimension-less point? Has it been formulated? No. You get a mumbo-jumbo of inter-relationships of quantities some of which might be true, all of which can be false, and all of which can be defended if they fail because of the variables, the degrees of freedom and the unknowns which it is impossible to feed in and have in fact been ignored. And I think the present emphasis, the very recent emphasis, especially in the so-called draft Fourth Plan, upon the annual plans appears to be an acceptance of this inevitable fact of life—that it is not possible to foresee too far into the future.

If this new shift helps us to discard what to my mind is a ragged myth which should never have been perpetrated, I think we will have got somewhere, and we may yet get the Fourth Plan out before it is too late.

There is another myth, which is hung upon something that Jawaharlalji is often quoted as saying, namely: "Planning is all right, it is the implementation that is bad"; the conclusion of course being that the planners have planned well, but that those who have to do the actual work and implement the plans are the ones to blame. These unfortunates include not only the bureaucratic echelons from the Central and State Ministers downwards, but all the field operatives, technologists, scientists, engineers, and the whole mass of workers at all levels.

It is time that this particular myth is laid, once and for all. Jawaharlal Nehru was not only the nominal head of the Central Planning Commission, but was also as Prime Minister, head of and responsible for the whole of the administrative and executive apparatus. I did ask him on one occasion as to exactly what he had meant. His short answer was to the effect that he certainly had many critical things to say about the administration; but no less critical things to say about the planners, the Planning Commission and the planning process as it has developed in this country. And he added "Well, which is really bad, the chicken or the egg? Does the chicken lay a bad egg because the chicken was bad, or is the chicken bad because the egg was a bad egg?"

The moral is that you cannot separate planning and implementation. They are integral parts of the same process. Good planning and good execution need to be intermeshed. To the extent that a planner plans in the abstract, and is not himself a part of the process of implementation, and directly answerable for execution, it is not possible to integrate the total process of planning and execution. No amount of evaluative mechanisms and procedures, or reviewing or supervisory functions invested in the planner can retrieve the situation.

Finally, I would like to try out some suggestions for consideration, and for subsequent discussion.

Firstly, I think it would be an advantage to dissolve the Central Planning Commission and to disperse all the personnel employed there, of every level from top to bottom. I think there must now be about a thousand people in and around Yojana Bhavan—and distribute them at as many different points of activity in the field as possible. There is plenty of work for people who are willing to do real work. I know that the younger ones especially feel completely frustrated. They want to work, and they are most anxious to go out and do some real work, and not just have to deal with reams and reams of useless paper and futile meetings and minutes. I believe that, but for the fact that the nominal head of the Planning Commission is the Prime Minister, the logic of dissolution, at least periodical dissolution as well as dispersal of the Planning Commission as a whole, would have become too apparent to be resisted.

In default of such a seemingly far-reaching remedy—although I would submit that it is perfectly practicable—there was a suggestion which I had made two or three years ago. I had suggested that during the earliest stages of dealing with the problem of Fourth Plan, instead of sitting around in Yojana Bhavan and trying to draft a Fourth Plan, the Planning Commission should disperse into the field, say for six months to a year. There was time enough ahead then. The whole of the staff would go out into the field; I even undertook to ensure that they would all be absorbed amongst the administrative, management and executive establishments in the Ministries and in the field. They could all then come back to Yojana Bhavan after about a year, having experienced at least one full annual cycle of events and problems in the field. They would certainly come back greatly strengthened in their ability to plan in terms of real life. Needless to say, this was apparently too rich meat, especially for those who had found the Planning Commission a cosy place to be in. In fact some of the younger people said that they would be glad to go out while the going was good, and might not want to come back into the Central Planning complex at all.

This is perfectly true of some of the best administrators and other workers. I recall that

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

the two officials in sequence who were posted as Secretaries to the Planning Commission after my own brief spell had to be taken away in a sort of a rescue operation one after the other. Both were officers of outstanding ability and intellectual integrity ; in the case of each of them, his reluctance to remain with the Planning Commission increased rapidly in the course of a few months. The reluctance of the best officials and others to go into the Planning Commission or to stay there is well known. How often have I not heard " There is Sri so and so, we cannot find a posting for him; or so and so's leave is expiring and we do not know what to do with him ; let us send him to the Planning Commission." And the operation of Parkinson's Law helps to find a place in Yojana Bhavan for those who could not be accommodated elsewhere.

The best place to train anyone to perform in planning functions is in the field, in execution and the carrying of executive responsibility, and not in the abstractions of planning techniques or any planning mystique.

Following from these suggestions, I think that the Central and State Governments should put their heads together, and carry out a radical reconstruction of the total national planning matrix. It should be recognised that it is not possible to make just any plan work. Our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had that remarkable gift, of making anything, even the unworkable work. That sort of thing lasts only while it lasts ; it seems necessary for us to recognise this, namely, that it is not going to be possible for anyone, or any small group in the foreseeable future and in keeping with our particular democratic constitution, to be in a position where anything can be made to work, or to provide a point to which all difficulties can be taken and they are resolved. It is exactly here that the academicians should take a hand in the process, and participate in the redesigning and reconstruction of the total national planning matrix.

 CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE

by Baljit Singh

It will be argued out in this paper that the 36.5 per cent devaluation of the rupee on 6th June, 1966 was based on sound economic analysis and right monetary policy. But it does not necessarily mean that appropriate follow-up measures have been adopted for its success. It is feared that unless these latter are pursued with vigour there may have to be successive bouts of devaluation before equilibrium is restored.

Fruitless Polemics

Immediately after devaluation a debate was started in the country about the political circumstances leading to devaluation. An ill-founded attempt has been made in certain quarters to give an impression that the measure was adopted either lightly or under pressure from certain foreign powers.

The fact is that devaluation anywhere gives a rude shock to a nation's pride, shakes confidence in its monetary system, and disturbs seriously international economic commitments. Hence, no country resorts to it lightly, while the Fund Agreement provides a safeguard against any 'lightening devaluation'. It should also be assumed that the decision makers in India were aware of the text-book arguments against devaluation in a developing economy. In particular, it must have been known that devaluation would aggravate the inflationary situation, raise the rupee price of imported capital goods, components and raw materials, divert resources and supplies to the export goods sector and in consequence increase shortages in the domestic market and above all make the terms of trade adverse to the country. It must have been equally known that economic models based on the inelasticity of demand abroad for the country's traditional exports and perfect short-run inelasticity of domestic supply, exist to demonstrate that no amount of devaluation could improve the balance of payment position. It may also be presumed that they were also acquainted with the literature that showed that while in theory a successful devaluation may be associated with both an expansionary pressure on domestic output and an improvement in balance of trade, yet in actual practice devaluations have been associated at least in the short-run with a reduction of the former and achievement of the latter only. This has been explained in terms of the redistributive effect of devaluation preceding the relative price effect[1]. Further, even in theory, the favourable effect of devaluation on both domestic output and balance of trade is due to a fall in real wages that it must inevitably cause, which many economists regard as unnecessary and too high a cost for achieving these results.

Moreover, the last devaluation was not the first devaluation of the rupee since Independence. The par value of the rupee in terms of gold or U.S. dollars was reduced by 30.5 per cent on September 19, 1949 when the pound sterling was devalued to the same extent. The circumstances of devaluation then were, of course, different particularly as there was no devaluation of the rupee in terms of the currencies of most sterling area countries which were at that time major trade partners of the country. Even then the country ran into serious difficulties due to increased cost of raw jute, cotton, hides and skins that were imported from Pakistan which at that time did not devalue its currency. Moreover, had there been no Korean War boom it is doubtful if there would have been an improvement in the country's balance of payment in 1950. In any case, immediately after the devaluation of 1949 the terms of trade had deteriorated.

All this experience could not have been lost entirely. Nor could it have been forgotten that during the fifties as larger investment outlays were undertaken under the Plans, an appreciation of the rupee was advocated in many quarters to reduce the rupee cost of imported capital. Additional argument against devaluation was found later in the increasing imports of foodgrains. Devaluation would increase their rupee price causing a further inflationary chain reaction *via* rise in cost of living, higher money wages and increase in costs.

Further, imports had been strictly regulated and restricted to essential needs. Likewise, various schemes had been adopted to promote exports. Controls on external trade coupled with the system of import duties and export subsidies had already resulted in a sort of a *de facto* devaluation of the rupee. There was, therefore, nothing to be gained by a *de jure* devaluation. This argument could not have escaped the attention of the Government.

Finally, the government like any one else, could very well foresee that devaluation would have serious political repercussions on account of

Inaugural Address at the Institute of Economic Research, Kanpur in an All India Seminar on "Devaluation".

1. Carols F. Daiaz Alejendro : A Note on the Impact of Devaluation and the Redistributive Effect, J. P. E., December, 1963, pp. 577-580.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

its redistributive effects on income. Prof. H. G. Jhonson has rightly asserted that governments are understandably and naturally reluctant to contemplate relative price adjustments and income redistribution that devaluation brings about on account of, among other reasons their 'specific unwillingness to reduce overtly the real incomes of the urbanised professional, mercantile and administrative classes, to which the policy makers belong, and of the members of the extant industrial labour force, on which they, depend in part for political support'[2].

Given all this knowledge, experience and unwillingness on the part of decision makers it is quite understandable as to why the Government of India did not devalue the rupee a couple of years earlier and took such a long time to undertake an operation that had long been overdue. Probably it was no longer possible without devaluation (i) to prevent a further deterioration in the balance of payments, (ii) to utilise the increasing idle industrial capacity, (iii) to check the drain on foreign exchange resources due to smuggling and repatriation, (iv) to undertake the investments under the Fourth Plan and raise necessary domestic and foreign resources, and (v) to raise domestic output and employment. To argue against such defensive devaluation may be a good exercise in polemics. But it is of little practical significance after the event. Even before it, the case against it in practice was based on the fear of the complex and on the maxim that a long enough postponement solves a problem. Actually, the compulsive forces left no other reasonable practical alternative to devaluation.

Compulsive Forces

The internal value of the rupee has been falling since the Second Plan. World prices too have been increasing during this period and in the beginning the rise in the general price level in India could be compared favourably with that in other countries with which she principally trades. The only exception to this were the centrally planned economies where prices have remained constant. But the situation changed dramatically since the middle of 1964. By March, 1966 the general index number of wholesale prices (1958 = 100) stood at 155 for India, 105 for U.S.A., 110 for U.K., 107 for Japan, 114 for Australia and Canada and 109 for West Germany. The disparities increased further during the ensuing two months.

The rise in the internal price level since 1952-53 was of the order of 86 per cent by June 1966 as compared to a rise of some 25 per cent in world prices. It meant that the internal value of the rupee declined by 47.4 per cent. In terms of the value of 1958 the decline was more or less of the order of 36.5 per cent. Yet throughout this period the external value of the rupee was maintained at the par value of 1949. The internal value of the currencies of countries with which our country principally traded declined by zero per cent to 7 to 8 per cent on an average.

There was an obvious over-valuation of the rupee in terms of foreign currencies so much so that outside the official market the rupee was being exchanged at half its *par value*. A high premium on imports, resistance abroad to exports, smuggling and leakages in foreign exchange earnings, repatriation of earnings on foreign investment, distortions in investments, discount on import-substitution etc. were all inevitable in the situation. The planners tried to remove the distortions in investment allocation by suggesting the use of a shadow or accounting rate of foreign exchange while the Government tried to meet the situation by stricter controls and higher duties on imports on the one hand and by giving various incentives to the exporters on the other. But despite an increase in the coverage of schemes for exports promotion, the progress in exports came to a grinding halt during the latter half of the Third Plan. A stage had been reached where even to maintain exports at their level export incentives in the form of import entitlements, tax credits, and cash subsidies had to be given to nearly all exports. Even the traditional exports of tea and jute goods required such assistance and there was persistent demand for raising incentives and subsidies. Moreover, discrimination was inherent in these measures and their 'clean' implementation became increasingly difficult.

The foreign exchange reserves, excluding gold which is only of notional significance, declined from Rs. 785 crores at the beginning of the Second Plan to almost the statutory minimum and were of the order of Rs. 184 crores at the end of the Third Plan.

The trade gap increased during the last ten years from Rs. 70 crores to about Rs. 500 crores and amounted to nearly 4 per cent of national income in 1965-66. Exports increased during this period by 37 per cent but with almost no increase during the last two years. Obviously, this low rate of growth of exports at an annual rate of less than 4 per cent must have been exercising a downward pull on the rate of growth of income.

During the 12 years ending with 1962 world exports from the developed market economies

2. Harry G. Jhonson : 'Fiscal Policy and the Balance of Payment in a Growing Economy'. Development Research Digest, Vol. III, No. 1, '. P. 60.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

increased by 150 per cent, from the centrally planned economies by 250 per cent and from the developing countries by 50 per cent. In consequence, India's share in world trade fell from 2.1 per cent in 1950-51 to 1.2 per cent in 1961 and 1.0 per cent in 1965. Exports as a proportion of her own domestic output have tended to stagnate at less than 6 per cent.

Exports from India have been limited primarily on account of their high price in foreign currencies due to a sharp rise in internal prices without a corresponding adjustment in the rate of exchange. Other contributory reasons were poor quality, low productivity or high cost, inadequate marketing techniques and organisation, lack of capacity to trade in bulk and supply standard products etc. It is, however, not correct to hold that like any other seller in a market the Indian exporter is not faced with a perfectly elastic demand curve in foreign markets. At home too the supplies even in the traditional sector are not totally inelastic in the short run. What is, however, true is that world trade is highly competitive and the Indian exporter has to face a tough competition in foreign markets from the developing countries in traditional items and from the developed countries in the manufactured goods.

Foreign exchange requirements have, on the other hand, been continuously increasing for planned outlays, maintenance imports, import of foodgrains and to meet servicing charges on foreign loans and investments. Current export earnings hardly sufficed even for maintenance imports which were reduced to such low levels that substantial idle capacity emerged in industry on account of non-availability of imported raw materials and many other intermediate goods. This happened despite a doubling of imports from Rs. 679 crores in 1955-56 to Rs. 1396 crores in 1965-66. During the Third Plan, the total imports, excluding P.L. 480 imports, aggregated to Rs. 5360 crores. The import requirements at a minimum level for the Fourth Plan were placed at Rs. 7650 crores in predevaluation rupees and Rs. 12049 crores in terms of the devalued rupee. The maintenance import requirements alone total to Rs. 5200 crores in pre-devaluation rupees (or Rs. 8190 crores in post-devaluation rupees).

National income during the Third Plan period increased at less than half the rate of 5 per cent per annum that was aimed at. Per capita income of 1965-66 was slightly less than that of 1960-61 at constant prices. Part of the explanation lies in adverse weather conditions that had a serious adverse effect on agricultural output. But even industrial output has lagged substantially behind its growth targets in most sectors. A situation emerged in which the existing industrial capacity could not be fully utilized largely on account of shortage of maintenance imports. Apart from stagnation of domestic output, unemployment continued to grow from less than five million ten years back to more than eleven million at present.

Further it was feared that the economy would stagnate unless investments were stepped up in the Fourth Plan. The Planning Commission estimated that without an outlay of Rs. 23750 crores consisting of Rs. 16000 crores in the public sector and Rs. 7750 crores in the private sector, it will not be possible to increase national income by a compound rate of growth of 5.5 per cent per year which is necessary to raise the per capita income by a very modest rate of 3 per cent per annum (compound). But financial resources for such an outlay cannot be mobilised within the economy. Hence, credit has been taken in the Plan for external assistance to the tune of Rs. 4700 crores. In general, during the Third Plan period the country had been spending on consumption and investment nearly 4 per cent more than its net national product.

The alternatives

What were the alternatives under these conditions ? Hypothetically, we could have continued with the system and the exchange rate prevailing on 5th June, 1966, and tried to seek adjustments on the basis of a *de facto* devaluation that it implied. Actually, it had become impractical to carry on the complicated system of import controls and export incentives. If nothing else, the administrative problems alone demanded the abandonment of a system based on invidious distinctions in favour of a non-discriminating system that *de jure* devaluation implied. The social cost of the system by way of under-utilised industrial capacity, distortions in resource allocation, and taxes to pay for subsidies were beyond its benefits. Even then there was little guarantee that exports would revive and the balance of payment would improve.

The *de facto* devaluation that the country had upto 5th June, 1966, implied in theory the maintenance of an exchange rate much above its purchasing power parity and seeking external balance with the help of controls and subsidies. This is what may be described as the practice of the centrally planned economies. In a mixed economy of the type that India has, its continuance could not have been practical for long without changing substantially the character of the economy.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Another alternative was to adjust the internal value of the rupee to its external value. Its implications were not only to eliminate all excess demand from the domestic market due to inflationary pressures but actually to reduce the money supply by some 40 to 50 per cent to restore price parity with the world prices. An operation like this would have required far sweeping currency reforms including demonetisation. The political repercussions of such a measure would have been far more serious than those of devaluation.

The removal of excess demand whose necessity is not lightened with devaluation requires a strict fiscal and monetary discipline. But those who advocated this type of policy had not only this in mind but much more-a substantial curtailment of investment outlay. By living on internal resources they implied a pruning of the Plan so that the investment outlay may be adjusted to the level of domestic savings at about 10.5 per cent of national income. In 1965-66 the ratio of investment to national income was about 14 per cent. There was thus a gap of 3.5 per cent of national income in domestic resources which corresponded to the balance of payments deficit. Along these lines the Fourth Plan investment in both public and private sectors would be about two-thirds of what has now been proposed. In consequence, the rate of growth would have been reduced further implying continuance of the existing poverty and increasing unemployment. Lower investment would not by itself mean larger export earnings necessary for maintenance imports nor the problem of fuller utilisation of industrial capacity that has already been created would be solved. It is also not clear how this step will enable still larger export earnings for meeting the service charges on external assistance already received.

In this context the slogan of self-reliance is sometimes used to establish a closed economy. The latter at the current stage of the development of the country would have immediately implied a lower output and a lower rate of growth and possibly much larger inflation. It is worth repetition to remind the developing countries that while all countries having exports of the order of 15 per cent or more of the national income are not rich, modern industrialisation cannot be sustained without substantial imports. No country can today be self-suffiicient in all types of raw materials and intermediate goods required by modern industry. It is this which explains the large participation of industrialised countries in world trade. Comparative cost theory as well as the economies of scale both point in the same direction. The growth theory with its emphasis on balanced structure can seldom be interpreted rightly to point to a closed economy. A country like India can hardly grow rich without importing and exporting on a per capita basis at a much higher level than at present.

A question is sometimes put as to whether we could not have closed the gap in our balance of payments by mobilising the private hoards of gold and its export. Had such a measure met with success, which itself is doubtful, as the experience of gold control in the country indicates, it would have at best helped for a short time as India is not a producer of gold in any real sense of the term. Elimination of food imports would, of course, make a substantial difference but even without counting these imports under PL 480 the problem was quite grave as analysed earlier.

Finally, a solution of considerable academic importance could be found in adopting a floating rate of exchange. The main merit of a floating exchange rate lies in its flexibility for continuous adjustments that it implies. Its advocates have argued out that since the developing countries have built-in-tendency to inflation, devaluation at any time will lead to successive acts of devaluation in future on account of the ever-emerging disparity between the internal and external values of currencies. The proposal, however, is not without serious flaws in practice. In any case, it would not have meant a lesser degree of depreciation at present in the external value of the money than decided upon by the government.

Economics of Devaluation

A primary function of devaluation is to bring in harmony the internal and external values of a currency i.e. to restore the rate of exchange at its purchasing power parity. Its necessity arises on account of the depreciation in the internal value of a currency that is usually associated with inflationary pressure or open inflation. Devaluation offsets the impact of inflation on the external sector of the economy. But if the inflationary pressures are not controlled and ultimately eliminated its necessity would arise over and over again.

Its *modus operandi* lies in changing relative prices as well as relative incomes. As a result of these changes in relative prices, exports are stimulated and import substitution becomes more economical than before. Resource allocation under the circumstances tends to change on the principle of comparative advantage. In the process total output and employment are enlarged and balance of payment improves.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

If, however, money incomes are increased to compensate for the fall in real incomes of some on account of changes in their relative incomes the inflationary pressures continue to grow. In consequence, the relative price effects are nullified and once again an intolerable disparity in the external and internal values of the currency develops restoring the same critical conditions as prevailed before devaluation.

It is, therefore, obvious that a certain fall in real wages and some rise in cost of living is a necessary price to be paid for the benefit of devaluation. Such cost, however, should be kept to its minimum by appropriate fiscal and monetary measures on the one hand and price control and trade regulation on the other. This is necessary since otherwise devaluation may spark off a cost-push inflation.

The success of devaluation depends on the vigour with which the opportunity for exports and import substitution is utilised and the balance of payment is improved. The main hurdles in the way of utilisation of this opportunity are poor quality of exports, industrial inefficiency and high cost of production, inelasticity of domestic production and supply of export goods, inefficient trade organization, inertia and absence of marketing leadership.

All these handicaps may be operative in the case of the recent Indian devaluation. It is, however, a matter of some satisfaction that the government is aware of these shortcomings and has already taken some steps to minimise their incidence. It has already been announced that deficit financing would be avoided during the Fourth Plan, maximum economies would be achieved in public expenditure and strict monetary discipline will be enforced. To eliminate idle industrial capacity a liberal scheme of imports has been enforced which now covers nearly 95 per cent of all industries. Steps have also been taken to subsidise the distribution of imported foodgrains to maintain the pre-devaluation prices and to check any untoward increase in the cost of living. A chain of state or co-operative shops is being established to distribute consumer goods in urban areas so that any price increase in cost of living may be kept within reasonable limits.

Pre-conditions for Success

Measures that have been envisaged and adopted so far have, however, failed to create the right type of climate required to make a success of the Indian devaluation. It appears that there is still an inadequate understanding of the role of money in the economy. In particular, there seems to be a belief in the neutrality of money and a denial of the interest-bearing debt as net assets of the public. Consequently it is assumed that eschewing of 'deficit financing' rather than of 'deficits' will be sufficient to arrest the inflationary expansion of money supply.

It is time that it is recognized that public debt is soon monetized, that private sector investment is often financed through what is now termed as 'inside money', that the scheme for financing the Fourth Plan contains a large element of inflationary potential, that there is already an excess of money supply which has increased to more than two and a half times since 1952-53, and that unless stricter monetary and fiscal discipline is enforced, the internal value of the rupee would continue to fall necessitating a further devaluation in the near future. It is significant to note that the income velocity of money (Marshallian 'k') that is the ratio of money to national income at current prices has remained more or less constant at 0.21 since 1950-51. To restore the price level of 1960-61 in 1965-66 the economy could have absorbed a money supply of Rs. 3200 crores only as against the actual amount Rs. 4,600 crores. The excess money supply that led to a rise in the price level during the five years since 1960-61 of the order of 36.40 per cent amounted to about Rs. 1400 crores i.e. 30 per cent of the total. Besides, the constancy of the value of 'k' indicates that the proportion of hoarded money has not declined. The target income for 1970-71 of Rs. 23,900 crores at 1960-61 prices could be achieved with a total money supply of Rs. 4,800 crores or so. The maximum amount by which the money supply should be increased if the price level of 1960-61 is to be restored during the next five years is not more than Rs. 200 crores. Indirectly it implies that there should be a ceiling on money supply if the 1960-61 price level is to be re-established. The relative price changes necessary for the success of devaluation ought not to be associated with a rise in the general price level and increase in money supply. On the contrary, an attempt should be made to restore monetary equilibrium at a lower level.

It may be necessary for this purpose to examine first the feasibility of a ceiling on money supply, secondly to raise all future public loans through non-transferable and non-negotiable bonds or units like those of the Unit Trust of India; thirdly, to prescribe a reasonable minimum ratio that should gradually be increased for self-financing of corporations whether in public or private sector; and fourthly to withdraw all hoarded money through appropriate currency reforms.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Monetary discipline has, however, little chance of success without nationalisation of commercial banking or what is sometimes politically described as social control of banking.

Export promotion rather than import-substitution should receive top priority. Devaluation will not remove all handicaps in the field which inhere basically in the basket of goods for export, its cost of production, the way in which it is marketed and the inadequate information about demand abroad. A state has been reached in the industrial development of the country when exports can be diversified with increasing emphasis on manufactured goods of a large varity. But the country cannot capture foreign markets without quality products at competitive world prices. An all-out effort to raise productivity and reduce costs is a necessary condition for the success of the export drive. But it will not be sufficient as designs will have to be adopted to tastes and fashions in foreign markets.

An all-out export drive of this type requires basic institutional changes in marketing methods and organisation. The state should take the over-all responsibility for all exports to assure planned supplies of accepted quality at competitive prices and to negotiate agreements with foreign purchasers for bulk sales. It may have to acquire for this purpose additional powers to procure from manufacturers and other producers minimum quantities for export at competitive world prices and to enforce quality control. It may have also to arrange input supplies for the manufacture of export goods on a priority basis. Finally the state organisation for export should continuously study foreign demand to find fresh possibilities for export. Let it be emphasised that exports have to be increased at an average rate of ten per cent per year during the next five years and at a still higher rate after 1970-71. This can hardly be accomplished by the existing organisation and machinery for foreign trade which achieved a rate of less than 4 per cent in the growth of exports during the last decade. It showed little imagination or initiative in opening new markets or making new bargains. It hardly ever took any risk as it traded mostly in traditional goods with incentive schemes. Normally, exports cease to be economical to a country if they have to be maintained with subsidies or other incentive payments. The country needs at this juncture a complete reorganisation of its export trade.

In the sphere of import-substitution, theoretically a country should not produce whatever it can import at relatively lower value. While this should be the general principle its practice should be based on the long run comparative costs after realisation of a substantial potential for development and after taking into full account the reduction in domestic costs due to economies of scale. Analysing from this viewpoint, the scope for import-substitution in India may be very large indeed. The development of the heavy engineering and chemical industries as well as an increasing number of design engineers, scientists and technologists of high quality in the country provide the necessary conditions for the success of import-substitution. But this in itself will require larger imports though of a different type as all the inputs cannot economically be produced within the country. Here too, as in exports, the limiting conditions are poor quality and high costs. Hence, no effort should be spared to improve quality and reduce costs i.e. raise the all round efficiency of manufacturing industry.

Food stands on a different ground as in the recent past large imports of foodgrains have been an aggravating factor in the balance of payments situation. Self-sufficiency in food is a pre-condition for the improvement of the balance of payments. Devaluation has increased the cost of imported foodgrains and were it passed on to the consumers there would have been a substantial rise in cost of living and hence in wages. Steps have been taken against this eventuality. Yet the present system is built on the availability of imported foodgrains. Food shortage in India is not merely due to shortage of production but is to a large extent accounted for by faulty distribution and rigid food habits. Hence along with increase in domestic production food deficits must immediately be minimized through the state assuming complete responsibility for distribution of the limited supplies of foodgrains at fixed prices. A necessary condition for the success of a step like this is direct procurement from producers and state trading of the bulk of foodgrains.

Finally, a threat to the success of devaluation inheres in a rise in money incomes. Once increase in prices of essential articles is restricted, the wage policy of the Government in the immediate period at-least ought to be based on stabilisation of money wages and salaries.

All this analysis indicates that devaluation of the rupee has opened up a new opportunity for the country to increase its output as well as to improve its balance of payment. But a successful exploitation of this opportunity demands all-round restraints both in the public and private sectors. It requires institutional changes and policies that go beyond the orthodox concept of fiscal and monetary discipline.

CC-0.Panjab University Chandigarh. Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

LONG PERIOD GROWTH OF NATIONAL INCOME IN INDIA

by M. Mukherjee

Introduction

1. Views about long period growth of national income and per capita income in India can be classified under two categories in a rough way. Some authors [1] hold that there has not been any perceptible increase in the per capita income in the country in real terms over the last half century or last century preceding independence; instead, there could even have been some decline of per capita income. Most of the other authors[2], however, feel that while there have been periods of stagnation and decline in the per capita real income, larger epochs during the last half century or last century exhibit a small rate of growth of real per capita income. It is difficult to be absolutely certain in this matter, in view of the conflicting nature of evidences furnished. But by and large, the second view appears to be more plausible. The object of the present paper is to examine the available evidence and indicate why it is reasonable to believe that there has been some growth in the per capita real income in the country.

2. At the outset, it is necessary to write something on the time period covered. We generally cover the century, 1860 to 1960 split up into three sub-periods, 1860 to 1900, 1900-1950 and 1950 to 1960. Evidence in respect of the first sub period is not adequate and all conclusions relating to this period are only suggestive. A fair amount of work exists for the second sub-period and hence it is possible to come to more definitive conclusions. Finally, estimates in respect of the post independence period have the advantage that they are prepared by a single institution following a uniform procedure. Consequently, the conclusions in respect of this period are relatively the soundest.

3. The nature of evidence used can be put under two categories: (i) various official series measuring population, labour force, output, income, prices, etc., as well as the index numbers derived from such data, and (ii) estimates of national income prepared by various authors in the past partly based on the material covered under category (i) and partly based on various other material collected by them. The official statistical series are subject to varying degrees of inaccuracy at different periods of time and are not uniformly comparable over time. Sometimes, attempts have been made to prepare series which are more comparable between years, but such adjustments brought in subjective elements in the apparently more plausible end results. Important illustrations are Kingsley Davis' adjustment for population series[3] and Blyn's adjustment for agricultural series[4]. On the other hand, the national income estimators had to use subjective judgement both in their selection of data and in their piecing together of bits of information to obtain the aggregates. It is convenient to classify the past national income estimates as *point estimates* and *series estimates* When the main objective of the estimator is to obtain the level of national income at a particular point of time, we may call his estimate a point estimate. If on the other hand, the estimator is engaged in getting a series of estimates for a number of years, generally with an interest in the rate of growth of income we may call his estimates, series estimates.

4. It is pertinent to mention that we have given a good deal of weight to the evidence furnished by the national income estimates prepared by the various authors in the 'past because these figures give a considered judgement of the various authorities on the level and rate of growth of income in the country. In general, we have tried to strike a consensus between different evidences of this type, as well as a consensus between the evidences furnished by official statistical series and national income statistics. As we have noted earlier, we have come across conflicting evidences; still it is possible to arrive at tentative conclusions about the rate of growth for certain periods of time following the principle of consensus. Such conclusions are likely to

1. For example, S. J. Patel : "Long-term change in output and income in India", Indian Economic Journal, January, 1948 and V. V. Bhat : Aspects of Economic Change and Policy in India 1800-1960, 1963.

Also see, D. Thorner : "Long-term trends in output in India", Economic Growth : Brazil, India and Japan, Ch. IV.

2. For example, H. C. Arora and K. R. R. Iyengar : "Long-term growth of national income in India, 1900—1955", Papers on National Income and Allied Topics, Vo. I, 1960; K. Mukherji : "A note on the long-term growth of national income in India 1900-01 to 1952-53", Papers on National Income and Allied Topics, Vol. II, 1962; G. S. Gouri; "National income estimates in India, 1931-49", Indian Economic Journal July 1957; and V. K. Sastry : "India's external trade : some problems", Indian Economic Journal, July 1955.

3. Kingsley Davis : The Population of India and Pakistan, 1951.

4. George Blyn : The Agricultural Crops of India, 1893-94 to 1945-46 : A Statistical Study of Output and Trends, University of Pennsylvania, 1951 (mimeographed).

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

hold unless and until they are disproved by more substantive research work likely to be taken up in future.[5]

1860-1900

5. The evidence available for the period 1860-1900 is meagre. A number of statistical series no doubt exist, but most of them relate to a part of the period. Population census started from 1871, but the 1871 count had a grossly inadequate coverage. Some isolated estimates are, however, available for the earlier period enabling one to form some impression about the population growth. But since any use of population data for this period involves some adjustment for area coverage, whatever be the geographical area for which estimates are sought, some subjective element creeps in, and at best one gets a reasonable surmise about the rate of growth of population.[5a] Statistics relating to government revenue and expenditure; import and export; railway mileage, traffic and earnings; some communication services and a few educational facilities are available for the entire period or for a large part of it.[6] But systematic data on agricultural and non-agricultural production are almost non-existent except for certain modern activities such as textile milling, coal mining, etc. The basic agricultural area and production series are available only from the nineties. Considerable amount of systematic data on prices and wage exist from 1873 onwards including a wholesale price index number of reasonable coverage; earlier information on the subject are geographically heterogeneous and relates to very few items. Even the systematic part of the data on wages relate to only a few categories of wage earners.[7]

6. National income information for the period also is inadequate. Only seven point estimates are available; in addition, two estimates relate to 1901 and 1903 and can be utilised.[8] It is possible to adjust these estimates roughly and make them more or less comparable, express them in some constant prices and study the rate of growth of income over the period in real terms. However, this task cannot be done in a satisfactory manner because of various lacunae in the estimates and the procedure of deflation which can be used remain an extremely crude one in view of the fact that it is almost impossible to construct a proper national income deflator for the period.

7. Notwithstanding such difficulties several authors in the past have tried to study the growth of real income over the period, and mention may be made of V. K. R. V. Rao, G. Findlay Shirras, Colin Clark and Kingsley Davis in this context.[9] Rao's work is most penetrating because he went into details and made certain adjustments. For example, he rejected Digby's estimate for gross understatement, and scaled down Atkinson's figure for 1895 for the sake of comparability. Rao finds some increase of per capita real income during the period 1866-67 to 1875 and then a remarkable stability. Shirras's figures when adjusted for prices indicate a growth of per capita income between 1871 and 1881 and then a stability or perhaps a decline between 1881 and 1901. Colin Clark shows a substantial rise between 1867-68 and 1875. Kingsley Davis shows a rise between 1867-68 and 1881 and then a stability up to 1897-98. A decline has been shown after this because of his use of Digby's figure which is known to be underestimated. It will be seen from the above that no real series estimate exists for the period, though the little work which has been done indicates some improvement in the per capita income during the first half of the half century followed by a stability or perhaps a decline towards the end of the period.

8. The present author has prepared an annual series to cover the period on a rough and ready basis.[10] These figures are based on Atkinson's 1875 estimates carried forward and backward by making use of index numbers of money wage rates computed from wages series available in Prices and Wages. After obtaining the current price series in this manner, the figures have been deflated by a wholesale price index number. Care was taken to use a uniform popula-

5. More details about the present author's analysis and findings are availabe in, M. Mukherjee : "A preliminary study of growth of national income in India, 1857-1957", Asian Studies in Income and Wealth, 1965.

5a. Growth of income in a country has a clear geographical definition only when the boundaries of the country do not undergo any change over historial periods. In India, there were several changes in the boundary during the period under consideration. While we have talked in terms of present day area of the Indian Union, this implies an assumption of income homogeneity between the Indian Union area and the areas which were taken out in the past.

6. All data taken from earlier issues of Statistical Abstract of India.

7. Prices and Wages in India, various issues.

8. See Ref. (5).

9. V. K. R. V. Rao : An Essay on India's National Income, 1925-1929; G. Findlay Shirras : Science of Public Finance; Colin Clark : Conditions of Economic Progress, and "India's capital requirements", Eastern Economist, October 1, 1948; and Kingsley Davis : Ref. (3).

10. See Ref. (5).

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

tion series for computing the per capita figures. This series generally corroborates the findings discussed in the earlier paragraphs and shows a rising trend up to 1885 followed by a decline towards the end of the period. Further, the basic official statistical series given in terms of value (mentioned in paragraph 5), when deflated and expressed on a per capita basis depict a rising trend except for a fairly sharp drop just before 1900. The series show a sharp rise during the quinquennium 1875-1880 which is regarded as a bad quinquennium for agricultural production in Indian economic history. On the other hand the series dip sharply during the other bad agricultural quinquennium, 1895-1900 as we have already noticed. Thus taking a general view, the main finding of the present author appears to be plausible, or at least not inconsistent with the major part of the available evidence. As such, we have made use of the series subsequently to build up a picture of the overall rate of growth of the Indian economy during the last century.

9. For a study of growth of per capita income, it is necessary to compute national income figures at constant prices. This can only be done by deflating the current price series by a convenient price index number. As we have already mentioned, the available price index number is very inadequate for the task partly because it relates to wholesale prices and partly because its commodity coverage is grossly incomplete in comparison with a proper national income deflator. Post-independence experience in India shows divergent movement in the national income deflator and the wholesale price index, the latter showing larger annual fluctuations and a sharper rise. It is likely, therefore, that the use of a wholesale price index number for deflating our historical series has led to a relatively unrealistic fluctuating sequence of per capita real income. Further, if the current experience is to be a guide, the procedure may have resulted in some under-reporting of the rate of growth. To tackle the problem of fluctuations, we have made use of a seven year moving average of the price series in some of our calculations. No adjustments, however, have been made to counteract the possibility of under-statement of the real rate of growth resulting from the use of the wholesale price index number as a deflator.

1900-1950

10. As we have indicated earlier, the availability of statistics is much more satisfactory for the first quarter of the present century. As a consequence of this, it is possible to come to a definitive conclusion about the rate of growth of national income during the period, while all that is possible for the earlier period is in the nature of a surmise. There are a number of basic statistical series for the period including a number of index numbers, a large number of point estimates exist for the period; several authors have worked out series of national income for the whole or a part of the period, some assessment of the available data pertaining to the rate of growth of the economy with tentative conclusions also exist; and finally a fairly detailed study of the rate of growth for the period 1900-1947 has recently been completed.[11] This voluminous material naturally does not unequivocally point out towards a particular pattern of growth of the economy during the half century, and some part of the evidence is conflicting in nature. But if the entire evidence is marshalled and an attempt is made to arrive at a consensus, then a particular pattern of growth emerges. No doubt some part of the evidence conflicts against this pattern, but the conflicting evidence is neither voluminous nor well-substantiated. As such, it becomes possible to accept this pattern as the approximate pattern of growth of the economy during the period. While claiming this, it should be admitted that large margins of uncertainty attach to the actual estimates and all that can be claimed is a reasonable correspondence between the true pattern and the estimated pattern of growth.

11. The available population statistics for the period are better than those relating to the preceding period having a more uniform coverage and need little adjustment for under-coverage. In addition, it is possible to work out estimates or working force for the census years, and obtain an interpolated series of working population by industrial affiliation. The concepts and definitions used for obtaining the estimate of working force, however, changed between censuses, and the figures are not strictly comparable between censuses. But several attempts have been made to adjust and present more or less comparable estimates of working force for different census years.[12] Secondly, annual data on production are available for agriculture and most of the organised productive enterprises for the period. The agricultural series, which is of prime importance for national income estimation, however, suffer from several defects, partly resulting from

11. S. Sivasubramonian : National Income of India 1900-01 to 1946-47 : Ph.D. thesis, Delhi University (unpublished).

12. For example, Sivasubramonian : Ref. (11) : B. R. Ghate : Changes in the Occupational Distribution of Population, 1949; and Alice Thorner : "Secular trend in the Indian economy,. 1881-1951", Economic Weekly, Special Number, July 1962.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

under-coverage in the earlier years. A few authors have tried to adjust for this and obtain a more comparable series.[13] This process probably has led to some over-correction and consequent reduction of the rate of agricultural growth. Data on organised industrial and commercial activities and the public authority sector are generally available and amenable to detailed analysis. Quinquennial census of animal husbandry got instituted towards the middle of the period. It is not possible to chronicle various bodies of statistics and index numbers constructed therefrom relating to the period for lack of space. It should, however, be pointed out that the lacunae of statistics for the period is comparable with the situations during the post-independence period. For some of the sectors, the current official national income estimates depend on an estimate of working force (or population) from the census and an estimate of average earnings based on data compiled from diverse sources. These sectors are smaller industrial enterprises, trade and bulk of the non-railway transport, professions and liberal arts, domestic service and house property. The official estimates of the contribution to national income in all these sectors are known to be weak. The main difficulty in obtaining an annual series of national income estimates for the first half of the present century is located by and large in these sectors, and some justice can be done to all other sectors, with relatively minor exceptions.

12. Some forty point estimates are available for the first half of the present century.[14] Out of these a few relate to a part of the country, some show an inordinately peculiar level of income, while one or two are so superficial that they do not merit close study. It is possible, however, to select some 25 reasonable estimates for the half century. When one is primarily interested in growth, the point estimates at best supply fragmentary evidence as a consequence of the heterogeneity of the material. Nevertheless, an attempt can be made to deflate the per capita figures and see whether they have a coherent story to tell. If this is done, the figures do not show any declining trend. In a rough way, they support the hypothesis of a slow but gradual improvement in per capita income over the period under consideration, reaching a peak during the World War II and with no decline after this. One may question the validity of a finding like this in view of the heterogeneity of the material. Our contention is that there is some validity in this evidence. The joint evidence of a large number of workers, many of whom were competent economists, deserves some consideration at least as one piece of relevant evidence.

13. The fifteen available series estimates covering the whole or part of the period can be classified into several categories.[15] First, two of the series do not represent any plausible hypothesis about the rate of national product and can be rejected outright. Also, some of the series (e.g., by R. C. Desai or by Eastern Economist) cover a very small period and are of no use for our general purpose except by way of furnishing some supporting evidence. All the remaining series give a plausible hypothesis about the pattern of growth of national product in India. But a few of these (e. g., by S. J. Patel and V. V. Bhatt) depict a generally falling or almost a stable trend with a high base figure of per capita income for 1900. This hypothesis does not appear to be tenable to us, partly because the high base period figure for 1900 is contrary to other evidence, partly because most of the remaining series depict a different trend, and partly for reasons to be considered afterwards. Thus, we come to our last category of series estimates. All these series generally show a rising trend in per capita income up to the middle of the half-century under consideration, then a period of stability up to the World War II and finally a slight decline.

14. Thus, if we want to arrive at some sort of a consensus, it appears that it will be desirable to accept the average finding of the series estimates of the last category. The average trend is by and large supported by the point estimates, except for the fact that the point estimates do not definitely indicate a decline in per capita income in years preceding independence. Second, our general notions about economic development of the country is not contrary to the above findings. Third, the available body of economic statistics including the various index numbers when taken as a whole do not go against this finding even though some of the series may give a conflicting picture taken individually. That is, there are pieces of data indicating a conflicting trend, but if the entire body of data is considered and due weights are given to each component, the general picture which emerges is consistent with the average findings of the series estimates accepted

13. Apart from Blyn, adjustments made also by V. K. R. V. Rao : Food Statistics of India, 1946; K. Mukerji : Levels of Economic Activity and Public Expenditure in India, 1964 ; and S. Sivasubramonian : " Estimates of gross value of agriculture for undivided India, 1900-1901 to 1942-43 ", Papers on National Income and Allied Topics, Vol. I, 1960.

14. Details available in Ref. (5).

15. Details in Ref. (5). But see also Bhatt, Ref. (1) and Sivasubramonian, Ref. (11).

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

by us. Finally, a recent detailed unpublished work on growth of national product in India during the half-century depicts a pattern of growth which is more consistent with this growth hypothesis than with the hypothesis of decline and stability.[16]

Main conclusions for the period 1860-1960

15. We have already given an account of the main evidence for the period 1860-1950. If we combine this with the evidence available for the post-independence period, it is possible to give a picture for the century 1860-1960 as a whole. The estimates for the post-independence period are much better than the estimates for the previous period, as the official estimates, which can be used for the purpose, are based on more voluminous data and are computed on the basis of a uniform methodology. Some doubts, however, attach to post independence estimates. As we have indicated earlier, the official estimates in certain sectors are based on inadequate data, and the global figures suffer from large margin of uncertainty as a result of this. But analytical work on the estimates show that while there is some chance of sizable under-estimation of the rate of growth of national income at current prices, the real rate of growth as depicted by the official statistics is unlikely to be widely off the mark. Certain independent corroborative evidence also support this proposition. Thus, in spite of the various weaknesses of the sectoral estimates, the aggregate income at constant prices as given in the official data show a realistic rate of development, partly as a result of compensation of errors in sectoral figures as we have subsequently. As such, one is justified in using these figures for a long period study of the rate of growth without any further adjustments. Moreover, too much precision for the post-independence period is not needed for the broad conclusions to be given hereafter.

16. The main finding is that the real rate of growth of per capita income has been of the order half of one percent per year for the period 1860-1950 as well as for the two principal sub-periods 1860-1900, and 1900-1950. This is less than half but more than one-third of the post-independence rate of growth of per capita income in real terms. Further, since the rate of growth of population was much lower during all the past period considered, the rate of growth of real income during the post-independence period is of the order of three times the rate of growth of real income during the past period. However, it is possible to isolate sub-periods of shorter duration in the past during which the rates of growth of per capita income were higher or dimensionally similar to the rate of growth of per capita income during the post-independence period. In particular, 1900-1925 constitutes such a period. But in all such sub-periods, the rates of growth of population were much lower than the post-independence rate and consequently the post-independence growth of real national income has been unprecedented in Indian economic history for the period covered. Coming to the pattern of growth, the per capita income grew in India from 1860 till about 1885 or 1890 after which there was a decline upto 1900. Since 1900, per capita income grew steadily upto about 1925. The period 1925 to the World War II depicted a stable trend with fluctuations. The level of per capita income in real terms went down during the war and unsettled years preceding partition and independence. As we have already mentioned, a sustained rapid rise in per capita income in real terms marked the post-independence period.

17. The last paragraph gives the general pattern of growth or real per capita income in the country during the last century as well as the underlying annual rates of growth in some sub-periods. This picture is supported by the general consensus of views. But empirical bases of the findings have not been uniformly strong, and subjective judgements of several research workers have played a part in building up this picture. But notwithstanding this, the above appears to be the most plausible hypothesis about the growth of national product in the country ; this hypothesis will remain tenable until it is changed or disproved by more extensive and deeper studies on the subject.

18. However, several imponderables will confront such a study and the eventual findings will always remain partly based on data and partly on judgement of research workers.[17] The differences in the computed rates of growth resulting from base-weighting and current-weighting will be one of the imponderables where judgement has to play a major role. The problem of inadequate measurement of quality improvements, if any, will be the other imponderable of a similar nature. Next, the upward bias resulting from the improvement of statistics can be corrected only very approximately and all work on strictly comparable series has to depend largely on sub-

16. Sivasubramonian : Ref. (11)

17. For fuller treatment see S. Kuznets : " Quantitative aspects of economic growth of nations I. : Levels and variability of rates of growth ". Economic Development and cultural Change, October 1956.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

jective judgement. In piecing together estimates prepared by research workers of the past, two difficulties continually appear. First, the geographical coverage of the country has changed over historical periods and any series for the current Indian Union area relates to a hypothetical area during a past period. Any exact adjustment for territorial change is not possible because for the years in which territorial changes took place, detailed regional estimates of income and its components were not available. Second, the concept of national income used by earlier workers differed, and adjustments for translating earlier estimates to a uniform conceptual base is extremely difficult because the published studies do not furnish the details necessary for this.[18] Finally, exact comparison of real product between two distant dates remains a hazardous procedure as a consequence of the structural change in the national product itself. The net output, for example, has a tendency to become a smaller percentage of total output with progress of time and this changes the meaning of national product as a measure of unduplicated aggregate of production and detracts validity from procedures used for computing a series at constant prices following a product approach. Likewise, the patterns of consumption and capital formation change over time resulting in wide divergence between estimates obtained by base weighted and current weighted deflation procedures. In view of all these, even a detailed and deeper study of the general problem will remain partly subjective in nature. Consequently, a good deal of weight may be given to the tentative findings of the type presented in this paper.

An appraisal of the estimates

19. After having said all this, it is probably desirable to give some tentative appraisal of the picture presented earlier on considerations based on our general notions about the economic development of the country during the last century. Further, it is desirable to examine whether the pattern of growth outlined here is consistent with the international experience in this field. In other words, we propose to ponder over questions of the type given below. Is it possible for a country like India to have a long period rate of growth of the order of half of one per cent per annum? How could people live at the very low level of per capita income which obtained in the past? Is the rate of growth consistent with our ideas on the past rates of saving and capital formation in the country? Are the short periods of rapid growth observed in the past corroborated by other available evidence and do these periods exhibit structural shifts in national product expected in periods of rapid development? We may take up these question one after another in the rest of the paper.

20. Stagnation, in the sense the term is used in the literature on economic development, may be consistent not only with unchanging per capita income in real terms but also with a situation in which per capita incomes improve at a very slow rate. Under Indian conditions, it is probably true that periods of maintenance and decline in per capita income occurred when agricultural production was stagnant and there was little outside developmental influence. All other periods probably exhibited some increase in per capita income. Further the effect of population growth on per capita income had two opposing characteristics. A low rate of growth of population sometimes helped the rate of growth of per capita income while at other times, a low rate of increase in population was caused by extreme general poverty and both per capita income and population showed no growth at all. The second half of the 19th century, in India, witnessed a good deal of outside influence. The railway network was established, foreign trade fluorished particularly after the opening up of Suez Canal, a few new industries started and coal output showed a significant advance, communications facilities improved and modern education started to spread. It has to be admitted that indigenous industries generally declined during the period and agricultural advance was held back by serious set backs over shorter periods on some occasions. Next, during the first half of the 20th century, apart from other favourable factors, there was a large diffusion of modern production methods.[19] Taking all relevant factors in view, some growth in the per capita national product during the period can easily be expected particularly because of the fact that the rate of increase in population was considerably below one per cent per annum during the period.

21. International experience give little help in assessing the plausibility of our rate of growth because historical income data exist for only two underdeveloped countries.[20] In so far as advanced

18. K. T. Shah and K. J. Khambata in their Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India, have, for example, used and income concept close to net material product used by Marxist economists.

19. D. R. Gadgil : Industrial Evolution in India.

20. Phyllis Deane : "The long-term trends in world economic growth" Malayan Economic Review, October, 1961.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

countries are concerned, the long period rates have generally been considerably higher than the Indian long period rate, but here the comparison is hardly meaningful because modernization of the type experienced by advanced countries in the past was quite different from the Indian experience.[21] This is due to several reasons, the most important of which is perhaps the fact that the process of modernization started in these countries with a much higher level of per capita income than in India. It is interesting to note that the two underdeveloped countries, Jamaica and Egypt, for which long period rates of growth of national income have been worked out both show a small creeping increase in per capita national product in real terms, and thus corroborate the Indian findings.

22. Since the present level of per capita income in India is very low, a positive rate of growth over a long historical period would imply a much lower level of per capita income in the past. With the current level of per capita income at about Rs. 300 at 1948-49 prices, how could people live at a per capita income level of Rs. 170 in 1860 at the same prices? One answer to this question can be given. Even to-day, more than 100 million people, about 30 p.c. of the rural population and about 20 p.c. of the urban population, live at a level of consumption expenditure below Rs. 170 per capita, as the National Sample Survey data show. Further, the distribution of personal income by size was probably somewhat more egaletarian in the past. The current urban income distribution is more unequal than the current rural income distribution, and the fact that urbanization ratio was lower in the past, suggests the above conclusion. But apart from this, the average availability of foodgrains was probably higher in the past and its distribution by size classes of income was more equal. All these suggest that it was possible for the population to survive at a considerably lower level of per capita income in the past, particularly in reasonably good agricultural years. Famines, which accompanied sequences of bad harvests, however, were more frequent and more devastating when the country had lower levels of per capita income.

23. To what extent the findings presented here confirm with our notions about the rate of savings and investment in the economy in the past? As we have seen, the overall rate of growth of income in real terms was a little more than one per cent per year. If we take one per cent as our rate of growth, this implies a rate of investment of about 2 per cent provided we accept the recent estimates of reproducible capital output ratio, prevailing say over the early post-independence period. Even if we take the ratio to be 3, the rate of savings works out at only 3 p.c.of national income. The rate of saving in the country just before the First Five Year Plan was about 6 p.c., and it is difficult to see why the rate should be much below this over past historical periods. Even if we assume a long period rate of saving of 5 p.c., this implies a higher rate of growth of national product and per capita product provided we accept the current estimates of capital output ratio.

24. A part of the explanation of this baffling problem lies in the leakages which led to non-productive use of savings, and another part can be attributed to the possibility of having a higher capital output ratios in the past. The most important leakage was in the shape of hoarding of precious metals. The level of this was generally high between 1860 and 1930 no doubt with fluctuations and periods of relatively low hoarding.[22] But the important point to note is that at peaks, the value hoarded was as high as 2 p.c. of national income. One would think, in addition, of other non-productive outlays such as on religious buildings. In view of this, a rate of savings of 5 p.c. during a past period would imply a rate of investment of only 3 p.c. on really productive assets. This partly explains why a rate of growth of national income of one per cent per year is compatible with the rate of overall savings which appears plausible for past periods.[22a]

25. We may next consider the question of the magnitude of the capital output ratio in the past. According to current estimates[23], roughly 40 p.c. of the reproducible tangible wealth (RTW) is in the modern sectors of the economy, about 35 p.c. in the traditional sectors and the remaining 25 p.c. is in urban and rural residential construction. The capital output ratios for these sectors are roughly 3, 1.5 and 10 respectively. It is reasonable to assume that the past investments which were almost entirely on the traditional

21. Kuznets, Ref. (17).

22. Vinod Prakash : "An estimate of the stock of precious metals in India", Papers on National Income and Allied Topics. Vol. I, 1960.

22a. On the balance, the effect of " drain " on Indian resources through Home charges, etc., partially compensated by direct British investments in India may be a pull in the same direction, but its overall dimension should be smaller than that of hoarding. (See V. V. Bhatt : Aspects of Economic Change and Policy in India 1800-1960, 1963).

23. M. Mukherjee : " An estimate of reproducible tangible wealth in India in March 1961 ", Economic Affairs, December, 1963.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

sectors and residential construction, had a higher weightage on construction thus pulling up the national ratio. It is also possible to think that the share of investment in the traditional sectors was relatively larger in the past, and this had a tendency to pull down the national ratio. It is difficult to ascertain the relative strength of the two pulls, but one would probably expect somewhat higher capital output ratios in the past for the national economy as a whole, as a consequence of the two pulls.

26. It is easier to demonstrate the possibility of having higher capital output ratios in the past, when one is concerned with all tangible assets and not RTW alone. There is some justification of using tangible asset/output ratio in a country like India in which bulk of the production takes place in the agricultural sector for which land remains the most important capital asset. The acreage under cultivation grew at a slower rate in India than the rates of growth of output and RTW. Consequently, the value of land also grew relatively slowly even after making reasonable allowances for outlays on improvement. From this, it follows that the share to land in the tangible wealth was very much larger in 1860 than in 1950, and the ratio gradually declined with time. This is true irrespective of whether we assume stability of RTW/output ratio or some gradual decline of this over time. The assumption of stability of RTW/output ratio results in a decline of overall capital output ratio from 5.5 in 1860 to 5.1 in 1900 and 4.0 in 1960. On the other hand, if we assume that RTW/output ratio declined from 3 in 1860 to 2.5 in 1900 and 2 in 1950, the overall ratios would be 6.5 in 1860, 5.5 in 1900 and 4.0 in 1950, showing naturally a much larger decline. These estimates are no doubt rough, but they do indicate a possibility of some decline in the overall capital output ratio during the period under consideration. Further, somewhat higher ratios in the past agree, to some extent, with early British experience,[24] and our figures for 1900 appear to be consistent with a rough estimate of capital stock of India in 1903 given by Giffen.[25]

27. It should be pointed out that all above considerations do not help to establish that the long period rate of growth of national income in the country was of the order of one per cent per year or a little more. But they do indicate that the little information we have on the rate of saving, capital stock and capital output ratio, etc., in the country is not inconsistent with the view that there was a continuing growth of income in the country at about this rate.

28. More careful corroboration perhaps is needed for the relatively short period of rapid growth during 1865-1885 and 1900-1925. It is extremely difficult to analyse the situation prevailing during 1865-1885 because corroborative data available for the period are meagre in extent. As we have already mentioned, certain value series like government revenue and expenditure, export and import and railway earnings which are available for the period show a sympathetic movement with per capita real income when translated to a constant price base and expressed on a per capita basis. Further, certain physical indicators of coal production, transport, communications and educational facilities expressed on a per capita basis show much higher rates of growth than per capita income in real terms. It is admitted that the period included one bad agricultural quinquennium but otherwise the progress of agriculture was probably satisfactory. Taking everything into view, the corroborative evidence partially supports the trends shown by national income estimates. But more careful economic historical work is needed before the finding can be taken as conclusive. This is particularly so because the income series for the period is not based on adequate empirical investigation.

29. The corroborative evidence, on the other hand, generally supports the finding of the national income estimates in respect of the first quarter of the present century. Several facets of this can be briefly noted. One general finding about the post-independence period is that the rate of growth of national income is larger in the various unorganized sectors put together than the rate of growth of combined sector, agricultural and modern enterprises. It is certain that the improvement in the combined sector, agriculture and modern enterprises was considerably more during the first quarter of the present century than during the second quarter. Various studies connected with index number construction bears this out.[26] Even if the post-independence tendency was partially true in the past, a large rate of growth of income during 1900-1925 has to be admitted. The rate of growth agriculture has taken in isolation, however, was rather low during the first quarter of the present century even

24. S. Kuznets : "Quantititive aspects of economic growth of nations VI.: Long-term trends in capital formation proportions", Economic Development and Cultural Change, July 1961.

25. G. Giffen : "The wealth of the empire and how it should be used", Economic Enquiries and Studies, Vol. II.

26. For example, D. G. Karve : Poverty and Population in India, 1936 : D. B. Meek : "Some measures of economic activity in India", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Part II, 1937 ; and Mukerji : Ref. (2).

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

though it was higher than the rate during the second quarter. It follows from this that rapid increase in national product during the first quarter must have resulted in a considerable decline in the share of agriculture in the national product. Thus, rapid increase in national income during the first quarter of the present country followed by a slower rate of growth during the second quarter would result in a sharp fall in the share of agriculture during the first period followed by its relative stability during the second period. This has been fully corroborated by studies undertaken by V. K. R. V. Rao, K. Mukerji and S. Sivasubramonian.[27] Various available point estimates also support this proposition.[28] Consequently, a larger rate of growth of national income during the period in comparison with the subsequent quarter century appears to be an inescapable conclusion. In addition, the rate of growth of population during the first half of the current half century was considerably lower than that in the second half. It follows from this that the performance of the nation during the second half was not unduly below that in the first half in terms of total national product, even when the performance appears much worse in terms of per capita income.

30. Some appraisal of our post-independence performance is needed to bring this paper to its logical conclusion. Is there any possibility that the post-independence rate of growth of real incomes is overestimated or underestimated by our official statistics? For studying this, it is necessary to examine two groups of official estimates. We have already seen that the estimates in some of the sectors such as small industrial enterprises, trade and non-railway transport, professions and liberal arts and domestic services depend on projected figures of working force and some data on average earnings of insufficient objectivity. These comprise the first doubtful group. In this group, some possibility of over estimation exists only in the sub-sector professions and liberal arts in view of the large postulated rate of increase of the labour force component. On the other hand, the rate of growth of real output in the small enterprise sector is probably underestimated as suggested by physical indicators covering a part of the field. The real rates of growth in the other two sectors appear to be plausible. Thus taken as a whole, the real movement of the group seems to be dimensionally correct. The only other reason, particularly of over-estimation of the real rate of growth, may be located in the group, agriculture and allied activities. This is due to possible underestimation of the agricultural production in the past. In particular, the large apparent growth of agricultural output between 1951-52 and 1953-54 may partly be of the nature of a statistical correction. But even if a reasonable adjustment is made for this, the overall rate of growth of income in real terms is reduced by a very small percentage. Subsequent to 1953-54 the index number of agricultural production is corroborated by NSS estimates of consumption of foodgrains in so far as the trend is concerned and there does not appear to be any possibility of substantial overestimation or underestimation of the rate of growth.

31. There are other factors which could lead to over estimation or under estimation of the rate of growth. For example, the absence of deflation in general government and the adoption of a larger rate of growth of population for working out per capita figures than for obtaining the estimates of labour force both lead to some underestimation of the rate of growth of per capita income slightly. But the overall effect of the other factors some of which are compensating, is unlikely to change our basic conclusion. In fact, the revised estimates of national income worked out by the Central Statistical Organisation, which follow a somewhat different estimating procedure, do not materially alter the real rate of growth, inspite of the fact that there has been substantial changes in the sectoral and aggregate levels and also in the sectoral rates of growth of some of the sectors at current prices.[29] Finally, the trend of estimate of consumption expenditure in real terms as obtained from the official national income estimates is generally corroborated by the completely independent estimates based on family budgets collected in succeeding rounds of the National Sample Survey.[30] As such, it is possible to accept the trend of real income and per capita income as given by official sources, at least for purposes of the analysis, in which the rates for earlier periods are based on considerably weaker empirical material. The rate of growth

27. V. K. R. V. Rao : "Changes in India's national income—A static economy in progress", Supplement to Commerce, December 1954; Mukerji : Ref. (2); and Sivasubramonian : Ref. (11).

28. For example those due to Shah and Khambata, Vakil and Muranjan, Wadia and Merchant, and Digby. Atkinson's 1895 ratio is somewhat discordant.

29. Central Statistical Organisation, Government of India : Proposals for a Revised Series of National Income Estimates for 1955-56 to 1959-60, 1961.

30. M. Mukherjee, G. S. Chatterjee and N. Bhattacharya : "Estimates of national income and household consumer expenditure on the basis of National Sample Survey data". Indian Statistical Institute, Planning Division Working Paper No. 281, December 1963 (mimeographed).

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

of income at current prices as given by official sources, however, is likely to be somewhat underestimated, but this need not concern us here.[31]

Concluding remarks

32. While the pattern and rate of growth of real national income in the country as outlined in this paper are considered as plausible, one may regard them only as quantitative hypotheses at this stage. The advantage of putting forward a quantitative hypothesis is that it is possible to refute it in an unambiguous way. It is the task of the research workers of the future to check on these findings through more systematic work, and this process will lead to corroboration or refutation of the present hypothesis. In this way only, we can gradually arrive at a correct view about our long period rate of growth. While the entire century covered can be studied, the more immediate need appears to be a careful study of the second half of the 19th century, because here the present findings remain weak. It may be pointed out that while difficult, the available information when properly summarised and analysed should enable us to form a better view about the rate of growth of national income during the second half of the last century.

33. In addition, it will be interesting to speculate on more distant past. At what rate did the Indian economy grow during the 18th and 19th centuries? Such work has to be partly based on statistics and partly on economic historical analysis. The available information probably will never enable us to push back our national income series beyond 1800, but scattered suggestive material may enable us to form some view about the general pattern of growth during the 19th century.[32] This is a fascinating though a difficult research area, in which historical sense, quantitative analysis and probably some imagination have to play a joint role in building up a coherent picture.

34. Since the current performance of a nation can be best understood in the background of its past performance, particularly for a nation which could only admit marginal adjustments to its traditional institutions and values, the importance of having a better understanding of our past rate of development cannot be minimized. No doubt, such understanding has to comprehend numerous facets of the development process, but an attempt to work out aggregative quantitative indicator of our rate of growth will always remain an important link in the chain.

31. M. Mukherjee and B. Roy : "Certain thoughts on the deflation of national product in India", Paper submitted to the 1965 Indian Conference on Research in National Income (unpublished).

32. To give two examples : Buchanan Hamilton : The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India, 1838 or The Sketch of Commercial Resources and Monetary and Mercantile System of British India—with suggestions for their Improvements by means of Banking Establishments, 1837.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD THROUGH MATERIAL-MANAGEMENT

by P. G. Menon

Synopsis

Merely by integrating her existing resources and increasing their productivity through materials-management, India can become self-sufficient in food, without even changing her present attitudes towards joint-stock farming and towards the fragmentation of holdings. However, more precise and meaningful data are required ; and the need for measuring costs and performances needs to be appreciated.

Materials-Management is an integrated approach to the problem of materials. It can help India to feed herself, and in the long run give her a balanced diet, using only her own natural resources and experts. Mm regards the market-forecast, design, production, distribution, acquisition, storage, maintenance, handling, and flow of food not as isolated functions, but as inter-dependent parts of a whole. Mm uses the techniques of operations-research, value-analysis, critical-path method, standardisation, scientific inventory, control, and those included in the appendix. Because it quantifies and evaluates, it helps one to distinguish what one would like to have done from what can in fact be done ; it is also shown what resources are required at what times and in what quantities to fulfil any target.

Inventory-Control

The techniques of mm, were developed to tackle industrial problems but they can also be applied to the agrarian sector. A certain state was seriously affected by power-shortages because of the low water-level of a Dam. The Minister concerned disowned, in Parliament, all responsibility for this 'Act of God' : 2 years of scant rain-fall. But a chemical firm in Gujarat survives similar calamities by applying mm. The firm does not accept fatalistically the fact that suppliers in India often fail one. The firm defined water as a 'top priority' item of stores for itself (as it is for a electricity-generating organisation) because of the high cost of being without water. The inventory of water in its reservoir is demarcated into two sections : working stock, and safety-stock. When the safety-level is reached because 'issues' of water exceed 'receipts', all uses other than for production are drastically curtailed, or banned. All further 'issues' are scrutinised daily by a special committee. If continued failure by the "supplier" leads to stocks dropping to the danger-level, then water may be issued only by the General Manager. The firm has divided its uses of fresh water into 200 specific categories. It has listed the degree of essentiality of each category, and the extent to which sea-water and/or re-cycled fresh water can be used for each category, and if so, as what percentage of fresh water. The firm has calculated the damage and financial loss likely to be caused by using sea-water and by closing down certain operations. But the loss would be much greater were the plant to close down completely. Water is one of the most important items of 'inventory' for agriculture, and should be carefully controlled.

Spares, Safety-Stocks of

Here is another example of unnecessary waste because of the Government's ignorance of mm.

Half of India's 40,000 tractors are idle for lack of spare parts, because there has been no materials-planning and programming, and because safety-stocks have not been worked out. Government's financial policies result in various kinds of agricultural equipment being bought from various countries. This results in a vast variety of spares being needed. Were all the tractors of even one area of a similar make, a 'pool' of spare parts could be kept, considerably reducing machine-stoppages. Such a reduction in the variety of types of spares would also reduce safety-stocks considerably. If 16 spares are used during a period, the safety-stock will be 4 if all the spares are alike, 6 if there are two varieties of spares, and 8 if there are four varieties.

Factorial Designs of Experiments

For most crops, no correlations have been worked out between the yield and the number of irrigations, their spacing, their duration, the maximum and minimum quantities of water-cum-fertiliser. For example, 18 inches of water, if applied unsystematically, give only 50 bushels/acre of beans ; but 6 inches applied at the optimum times (during flowering and fruiting) can give 48 bushels/acre. What is the cost of providing 12 inches of water to produce 2 extra bushels ? Is there a national 'profit' or 'loss' from this marginal yield, especially when that water could be used else-where, say on land which would otherwise not be irrigated at all ? As yet, the Central Board of Irrigation and Power has no break-up of the yields from the irrigated and non-irrigated sectors.

Wastage-Control

A B C analysis (the Pareto principle) is another simple but crucial technique. If you

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

break a problem down, you will find that a small percentage (or 'A' problems) of these sub-problems constitute the key ones. A B C analysis gives the order in which these problems should be tackled. Applied to the problem of food, it shows that the reduction of wastage should get top priority. There is no reliable data regarding the quantity of food, especially grains, wasted in India, because experts differ widely in their estimates. But the C. S. I. R. feels that 50% may be destroyed: 25% in the field by disease and pests; 10% in transit; 15% in storage.

High priority should be given to controlling the rat, as well as the Lesser Bandicoot, which is a major menace. Dr. P. J. Deoras of the Haffkine Institute says that India's 2400 million rats eat and spoil annually about 24 million tonnes of grain (worth about Rs. 2,000 crores), i. e. 20%. of the total production. However, more factual data are needed. For instance, locusts rarely lay eggs without the help of gibbereline, a hormone found in green leaves. So rain-fall in the desert means a plague of locusts in due course. Is there a similar connection, as peasants aver, between the flowering of the bamboo and an increase in the rat-population? Preventive measures are simple, well-known, and effective, if they are applied systematically and in the right areas. In the absence of reliable data, no-one knows how much is wasted and where; in the absence of integrated government, many preventive measures are hampered or resisted at crucial moments by some Government department or another (aerial spraying by helicoptors, for example). India has yet to try out on a statistically reliable scale a proven technique for eliminating insects. This technique consists of breeding a particular species of harmful insect in capacity, and sterilising the males through irridiation. Released during their mating season, they surpass any man-made device for tracking down their females, which will lay only sterile eggs, making their population decline.

Design-Control and Process-Control

These industrial techniques are applicable to agriculture. If the designer is made aware of the problems of the market-place and of the 'production-shop', he can help to increase productivity considerably. For example, take as intractable a thing as the tomato vine. To pick an acre of tomatoes requires 700 man-hours, even in the efficient U.S. High labour-costs make this a good field for mechanisation. But the tomato-vine is a floppy thing, and its 'tentacles' wrap themselves around the moving parts of machines. Its fruit ripen few at a time so mechanical pickers tend to deliver green fruit, as the few ripe ones get smashed by the fall: being spherical, the impact is concentrated on a small area. An *economic* machine for picking tomatoes was designed in the U.S. only when an engineer and a genetist combined their specialities to 'redesign' the vine and the picker, the genetist keeping in mind the engineering-limitations and cost-limitations of any equipment that would be required to pick any given design of vine. The new vine is a commercial success in the U.S. Being smaller and sturdier, it does not get tangled in the pickers; about 90% of its tomatoes ripen simultaneously; and the oblong tomatoes distribute the force of their fall over a flat surface. By 1942, similar tomatoes of excellent flavour had been developed at the Government Agriculture Research Centre in Guntur. But this piece of research was never commercialised. The research organisations should be orientated towards the needs of the producer and the market, with some system of feed-back, and some system to disseminate effectively all research-findings of commercial use. For example, many Indian orange-growers do not know that oranges keep longer if the stem is cut a little away from the orange instead of being plucked right off, or that oranges do not ripen (in the sense of getting sweeter) after plucking, as they contain no starches. The fact that such data are 'common knowledge' among many who are not in applied agriculture does not increase the output of food.

Trees and bushes can be 'designed' for easier picking, since one can make stems and branches grow in a desired direction by applying 'tiba' (2, 3, 5-tri-iodobenzoic acid). This induces the growth of 'tension-wood', which makes stems grow away from the earth (negative geotropism). Flowering and germination are controlled by the relative length of night and day. Extra yields are possible by changing this pattern, and the time of the yield can also be fixed in advance, thus helping to fulfil the criteria of Right Purchasing: the right quantity of the right quality from the right source at the right time. Yields can be increased by about a third by irridiation, before planting, with concentrated sun-light or equivalent artificial light. Ripening can be delayed by removing, in a partial vacuum, the gas ethylene, 0.001% of which is present in the inter-cellular areas of fruit. Bananas, for example, can be stored for 3 months at 0.2 atmospheres (i.e. one-fifth the pressure at sea-level), in a 100% humid stream of air kept at 16° C to remove the internal heat given off by the bananas.

CC-0 Agamnigarh Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Marketing and Distribution

These are necessary even for items of the right quality produced at the right time at an acceptable cost, and can increase the effective availability of what is produced. The prices of fruits and vegetables are identical throughout the U.S. except for transport-costs. From the 150-odd producing areas, the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Washington D.C. receives daily telegrams indicating the quality and quantity of each type of produce; and from 45 cities which form the main 'mandis', information is telegraphed to the Department by the transport-agencies, ware-houses, and jobbers, regarding rainfall and drought, regarding what has come, of what quality, in what condition, and for what price. The Department's daily Market News Service evens out prices by making possible a 'free market' in the classical economic sense. But this supply-and-demand theory of price-determination is too crude. Price is affected by quantity, quality, essentiality, and urgency.

Quality

Quality is definable by various objectively measurable standards, using instruments like refractometers (which show the sugar-content of, say, melons), calorimeters which measure the heat given off by certain vegetables and fruits (the greater the heat-content, the greater will be the cost of cooling to the desired storage-temperature), micrometers (which can measure the egg-white in an unbroken egg).

Essentiality

Essentiality means that if the out-put of a variety of fresh fruit drops, so will the effective demand if the price increases, because that particular quality (freshness) may not be considered to be 100% essential. The prices of many fruits and vegetables in the U.S. stay constant throughout the year, because of 2 substitute sources. One is cold-storage and fresh-freezing; the other is the tinning industry, which absorbs over 70% of the production of certain crops.

Urgency

Urgency is the temporal facet of essentiality. A consignment of, say, cranberries may hardly sell, even if, of the best quality and of the lowest price, if, it reaches the market the day after thanks giving. Only 5 million people are engaged in growing food in the U.S.; 8½ million are engaged in marketing it. By co-ordinating the market-forecast, inventory-control, and transportation, primary receivers with small premises can receive 15-ton wagon-loads of perishables.

These principles of the production-flow, acquisition, distribution and handling of materials are profitably being applied by a few food-processing firms in India.

One vanaspati firm has reduced its finished-goods-inventory by Rs. 40 lakhs; it also gets a recurring saving of nearly Rs.30 lakhs a year in packing-costs. About Rs. 1 crore of blocked capital was released in all, through operations-research. And the 21 days that vanaspati on the average spent between the factory and the consumer was reduced to 4 days. The available supply of many perishable foods can be increased merely by such reductions in their 'waiting-time'. For example, 40% to 80% of all the fruit transported by the Railways rots in transit. The average speed of an Indian Goods Train is more than the average speed of a goods wagon because a wagon only moves after there are enough loaded wagons to form a train. The efficiency of certain Indian Railways has been tripled through Operations-Research with practically the same resources (men, wagons, engines, tracks). More could be done, were various ancillary facilities developed in India.

Materials-Handling and Packaging

On the handling side are suction-hoses for loading and un-loading grain, conveyor-belts from the prime source to the transport, fork-lift-trucks and cranes at air-ports and railway stations, and the use of pallets (a sort of platform on to which a unit-load can be 'built').

Packing generally fails to fulfil the primary function of protecting the contents (from moisture, physical impact, insects, fungus—) for the minimum over-all cost.

Extremely inefficient containers like the sack cannot be eliminated in the absence of wagon tailer-made for each commodity, and with facilities for loading and un-loading. The Indian Railways should lay down standards for pallets and containers, and should construct special wagons. The U.K. alone has over 1,000 such wagons. Such inter-changeable pallets have standard prices, like sacks. The higher initial expenditure on making such pallets and containers re-usable is more than off-set by the recurring saving in the transport-cost, (of which the container-cost is a component). Each handling adds to cost without adding to value.

Storage

This has been badly neglected in India. The annual cost of storing anything comes to at least

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

25% of its cost. In the U.S., 2½ cents is taken as the monthly cost of storing one bushel of wheat. This figure does not include the cost of spoilage. So, for food-stuffs in India, the real cost is probably very much higher, especially as 15% of India's food-production is spoilt in storage (according to the C. S. I. R.) In tropical countries, food-stuffs deteriorate so rapidly that 'cheap' P. W. D.-type barns are not economic. Proper storage requires the control of temperature, of fungi, and of pests: it requires artificial ventilation, perhaps with poisonous gases to control pests, or inert gases to keep the food from germinating. Operations-Research can show the costs of such storage, as well as the monetary value, including foreign exchange, of the food that could thus be saved. O.R. can also show where ware-houses could most economically be located. To do so, one would "follow" the routes of the flow of food, and the periodicity and the quantity of the flow, from the producing areas to the using areas. This would help to determine the location of the storage-points and their capacity. It would also enable one to forecast the requirement of facilities for traffic and handling, as well as (through Linear Programming) to minimise the cross-movement of foods. This is what the vanaspati-making firm did.

The existing acreage under food must (and can) be utilised better, because only a third of all the cultivable land in India can receive water from the dam-and-canal systems, even after 20 years. The greater use of 'artificial' fertilisers is one way of increasing the productivity of land. The reasons for failure in this field are well-known. One way of manuring certain types of crops is to 'weed' them with quick-growing vegetables like peas or beans, which also provide 'by-product credit' in the form of about Rs. 300 worth of food per year. Rice-fields can similarly be 'weeded' with certain edible varieties of small fish.

Certain useful methods, such as the "Japanese style' of rice-cultivation were introduced too early, i.e., before the farmer's attitudes and habits had been made compatible with the requirements of such methods. This is an example of how even the best of techniques fail if they are not considered as part of an interacting system.

India feeds over half the cattle in the world, yet gets less milk than little Denmark, and excessive grazing, through a chain-reaction, reduces the availability of human food. For reasons of sentiment, one cannot kill off even the useless and destructive cattle. But birth-control is possible, and can increase the 'productivity' of dairying. Artificial insemination is the cheapest way of increasing the quality of the 'production-unit'. The shortage of high-quality heifers for breeding can be overcome by transferring the fertilised ova of superior heifers into scrub heifers. The design, process-know how and production-control of the finished product (the calf) will be determined by the chromosomes of the two donors, while the cow which actually gives birth will be only a somewhat inferior factory-shed. This technique is making a commercial break-through abroad although one of its scientific pioneers is an Indian.

Poultry eggs are another high-protein food with potential demand if prices were lower. Egyptian priests 4,000 years ago ran poultry farms and incubators as efficient as our poultry farms set up with foreign collaboration. If a high-grade layer is subjected to an 'artificial' day of 6 hours of light and six of darkness, it can lay over 600 eggs per calendar year, especially if its metabolic rate is raised artificially. The same formulae which are used to determine when to replace an industrial machine can show when a hen should be declared obsolete. Assembly-line techniques can be applied to egg-production. This technique also permits the recovery of a valuable by-product: a hen produces about as much high-grade fertiliser as does a guano bird of equivalent weight, and guano is imported.

Small-scale poultry-keepers in India can greatly increase their out-put by adopting the industrial approach. Take for example, the concept of 'quality', which really refers to the cheapest combination of the criteria which will satisfy the requirements of the end-use. This means that fertilised eggs for consumption are over-designed. Non-fertilisation would reduce the capital investment (both fixed and working) in Cocks, and would considerably increase the shelf-life of an egg, since unfertilised eggs are not designed to develop. Eggs keep longer if made impermeable to air. The laquering solutions used abroad contain sulphur, which is imported and expensive in India. But using value-analysis, a young Indian scientist has evolved a brine-bath treatment which can keep unfertilised eggs fresh for about three weeks in the Indian summer without refrigeration.

There can be no organised dairy or poultry industry on a mass scale until raw materials (animal-feed) are available regularly and far more cheaply. In India, grains are a bad starting material for conversion by animals into protein; and as for cattle-fodder, India has only about 19%

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

of its land-area under forest, while even industrial Germany has over 25%.

Animal-feed need not be dervied from items which are now consumed by humans. They can be made synthetically, from the produce of both the land and sea. Synthetic foods for human consumption should be taken up only as a long-term measure, although both rice and wheat, India's staple foods, are deficient in proteins, and in certain amino-acids (e.g. lysime and methionine) which are essential for growth in children. Many starving Indians will not eat unfamiliar foods, and Indians are unlikely to eat 'atta' made from de-natured fish-flour, or 'mutton' kebabs made from sea-weed. It is difficult to introduce new foods because ancient mores give to food peculiar symbolic values, and because malnutrition makes it difficult to digest new foods, and also tends to fixate behaviour-patterns.

I shall briefly describe some 'static' methods, each of which can at least marginally reduce the pressures on currently desired foods, and none of which require any major change in the out-look of our population.

From the land, yeasts, (including those from the wastes from sugar, textiles and paper mills), ground-nut flour and cotton-seed flour can be processed into tasteless high-protein foods, and then flavoured. The Regional Research Laboratory, Hyderabad, already produces about 150 tons a year of 'Hyro' from cotton-seed, which is now used only by pharmaceutical firms. The Cotton-seed is nutritionally superior to the ground-nut, and the 2 million tons of cotton-seed now available in India can give 0.35 million tons of flour. But the experts who press for this form of utilisation ignore the repercussions of diverting away what is now a cattle-food, without providing a substitute cattle-food. Another disadvantage of the land is that one square mile gives only one-fifth of animal protein as of vegetable protain.

The sea covers 70 per cent of the Earth's surface. Even the shallow waters of all the continental shelves equal the land-area of Asia. Plankton, minute plant-animals, form 90% of the life in the sea. Like plants, they synthesise CO_2 under the influence of sun-light, which penetrates about 90 ft. under the sea. Stimulating the growth of plankton is analogous to fertilising a field. About 10,000 tons of plankton are required to produce a ton of a commercial fish like tuna.

India still fishes the way the ancients hunted. Else-where, one finds the acquatic herds-man and the acquatic farmer, and an efficient industry based on them. For example, 5000 kilos of mussels per acre are harvested annually in the Gulf of Taranto (Italy).

Oceanography is still young, and about four times as much money is spent on space-research. But scientists are evolving ways of herding fish and of increasing stock. Fishing is being based on how fish feel, hear, and smell. Certain smells attract certain types of fish, or a man might drive off a whole school merely by washing his hands over-board. New types of 'nets' (and a net is materials-handling equipment) consist of dye-curtains because many species of fish will not swim from clear into turbid water, or of air-bubbles from under-water hoses because fish regard the bubbles as solid. Another barrier consists of reproducing the sound made by the fish themselves when alarmed. Selective inventory- control is possible because different sizes of fish respond to electric pulsations of different frequencies, enabling one to line up the desired size between anode and cathode. Once herded together into a live store, suction-pumps haul them into the boat. These techniques are already in commercial use in the Caspian and in the Atlantic. Purchase-forecasting is being done by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, U.S.A., which finds that there is a correlation between the water-temperature off Hawai, and Skipjack in the mid-pacific. The Japanese Government maintains a most elaborate service for fish-forecasting.

It is good periodically to thin out a species; it is bad to overgraze. Through forecasting techniques, and through the use of radar-equipped planes and sonar-equipped boats, potential sources of supply are located, and their optimal 'out-put' calculated. In order to increase the quality, the University of Washington, for example, selectively breeds salmon. And Operational Researchers are trying to determine the optimal period for 'harvesting' any particular species of fish, by finding out which of the various spawning periods to choose.

At a conservative estimate, the world's annual catch of fish is 45 million tons, while India can export only Rs. 2 crores-worth of fish a year, despite an abundance of Tuna and Pilchard (Sardines). The fishing-fleets of even small countries like Norway and Japan are floating factories equipped with spotter-aircraft, factories that process even an entire whale, wasting nothing.

Fish-flour, is ground-up fish, bones and all, of non-popular species. Minus water, fat, and smell, this atta is about 80% protein, and costs

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

about Rs. 1.5 a kilo. It is becoming so popular as animal-feed in the U.S. that Cargills, the world's largest traders in grains, and therefore interested in animal-feeds, have built in Peru a 'pilot-plant' to produce per day 40 tons of fish-flour.

Sea-weeds (algae) are another major source of fodder and of manure. Many types of edible sea-weeds are found along the Indian coast. Sea-weed meal is commercially produced in many countries. Algae contain enough vitamin G to replace dried milk for poultry-feed; it also makes old hens lay, and Sheep produce better wool. Chlorella, small fresh-water algae requires little water, multiplies rapidly, and can be harvested repeatedly. An acre of surface gives annually about 30 tons, 50% of which is protein. Algae also help to get rid of organic industrial wastes (of sugar factories, etc.), by releasing during photo-synthesis the oxygen required by bacteria to break down effluents. The Hindustan Sugar Mills at Golagokeranath is experimenting with this process. Algae-impregnated paper can be used to assess soil-fertility. This process is simple, cheap, and requires no apparatus.

Petroleum is a source of food. Bacteria resembling yeast feed on the waxy part of kerosene and gas, and multiply. The organisms are dried into a white powder (50% protein) resembling dried milk; the residual oil and gas is suitable for diesel engines. Two tons of protein can be got per MM cu. ft. of natural gas.

"Linear programming" can be used to so blend animal-feed that the requisite nourishment is obtained for the lowest cost. Suppose that there are various animal-foods at various prices, each containing different quantities of different essential elements (fats, vitamins etc.), with some foods perhaps containing of certain essential elements. Merely by using pencil, paper, and high-school arithmetic, any one trained in linear-programming can in about half an hour select the most economical mix.

The scientists have done their share towards solving the food-problem. But the lack of integrated implementation is marked: The fish caught off Calcutta by the mechanised ships manned by Japanese experts rotted; rotted because the quality required by the market had not been assessed (Bengalis prefer fresh-water fish); rotted because no distribution-methods had been worked out with alternate markets in mind; rotted because there were no arrangements to convert the unsold fish into some other marketable form.

This again re-iterates the need for an integrated approach. 'Crash' measures to increase food-production should not irresponsibly disturb the ecological balance. If more water is poured on the land than can drain away, then in time the land becomes barren because of the sub-soil salts seeping up. The use of pesticides to destroy certain pests has resulted in the destruction of other forms of extremely useful life. Grazing, and the felling of trees in the rain-catchment areas has resulted in costly floods, and in costly dams to check the floods. Such destruction of forests, sometimes in the name of agriculture (e.g. in the Terai), will have two long-term effects; drought, and erosion. Tropical countries loose about 8 acre/feet of water annually in un-forested areas because of seepage and evaporation. Forests induce local showers, preventing the formation of dust-bowls. Mechanised systems of agriculture are wasteful in the absence of scientific inventory-control. Transport-facilities should proceed, not follow, an increase in agrarian productivity. Otherwise, much of the produce will not reach the consumer.

Russia's resources exceeds ours. And yet her Government has admitted the failure of the 'virgin lands' scheme. Let India learn from Krushev's mistakes, which were:

1. The failure to distinguish between plan and programme;
2. The failure to use an integrated approach;
3. That a profit-oriented approach not only motivates men to higher productivity, but that profit is still the best unit for measuring any performance which involves the production of goods and services;
4. That the 'philosophy of profit', together with an integrated approach summarised by a network technique such as PERT, would have enabled these in control to know, ***well in time***, where corrective action was called for.

India can indeed feed herself without foreign charity, merely by reducing wastage by 8%, but only if she investigates all the factors that can be used to produce the required intake of food, and evaluates the relative utility of each of these factors vis-a-vis the role that they can play in any over-all programme, and only if she calculates the 'cost' of each of these factors in terms of time, money, man-power, skills. Besides having to quantify all that needs to be done, she must also determine how each of these things must be done, and when, and by whom, and with what.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL PROBLEMS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

THE INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

by P. N. Mital

To be an old nation with a heritage of the past is more often a liability than an asset. When it comes to adopting new institutions, a new and comparatively young nation finds the whole process much easier than an old nation which has first to struggle hard to disengage itself from its network of traditions and then to adopt the new. The case of a comparatively new nation like the United States of America, which is firmly placed on a sound democratic base, is very different from India, which has come to be known of late as a developing nation, where one has not only to adopt the new but has also to forget the old. To start on a clean slate appears to be a distinct advantage when it comes to adopting new and progressive ways of life. For an old tradition-ridden society the whole process of adaptation to the new ways of life is a constant and painful struggle. A heavy back-log of tradition and reaction stands in the way of progress and adoption of the new ways of life. Until a final break comes with the traditional belief system, forces of conservatism are locked in a constant conflict with the forces of modernization. India is passing through this fluid state of transition at present. As Vera Micheles Dean has pointed out, "In India it would be an impossible task to separate the elements of continuity from the elements of change. For the two are inextricably woven together to form the seamless fabric of Indian existence."[1]

When we examine the Indian political system, we find that the transplantation of a western democratic set-up in this tradition-bound country with its peculiar institutions of caste and rigid social stratification has not been an altogether smooth process. At every step there are forces of life which pull backward and to keep moving requires redoubled effort, first to endeavour to disengage from the old and then to adopt the new.[2] Modern India may be likened to a static society in progress, with a political system which, though rooted in conservatism and tradition, is nevertheless in a process of transformation. She presents the spectacle of a nation struggling hard to consolidate the democratic political system which she has adopted of late. The departures from the normal democratic patterns are many. But they are more due to socio-economic conditions, which have been prevailing in India for sometime past, than to any lack of faith or willingness to conform. It is true that the adoption of the new democratic patterns is a thrilling and fascinating experience to the educated elite of the country, but to the teaming masses it must be a bewildering one. At no point of recorded Indian history have the people been called upon to participate in the processes of government on such a vast scale. Of course there were the self-governing village councils or Panchayats in India as early as the Maurya period, yet this was confined to the local level. This participation in the political process not only gives the people what they never had before but makes large demands on their energies and age-old patterns of belief and behaviour. It is true that the trust which has been reposed in popular participation has not been betrayed and the reaction has not been disappointing. India appears slowly yet steadily marching to keep up with the new democratic norms enshrined in her Republican Constitution adopted in 1950.

On the one hand there are critics at home and abroad who have given expression to wide misgivings about the success of the new venture which India has embarked upon; on the other hand, there are many people who hold that the account India has given of herself in these formative years does not leave much doubt that the experiment is marked for eventual success. It may be interesting to examine the elements of the Indian political system and trace its points of strength and weakness.

Disengagement from Tradition and Modernization.

The process of modernization was introduced in the old and traditional Indian society in the wake of social reforms and the introduction of English education towards the beginning of the nineteenth century. Raja Rammohun Roy is regarded as the pioneer social reformer and the maker of modern India.[3] In addition to his association with social reform movements such as abolition of *Suttee* and child-marriage and introduction of widow remarriage, he joined hands with Lord Macaulay in the introduction of English education in India. His visit to Europe in 1830 from the Indian point of view was no less important than the arrival of Vasco de Gama in India. As K. M. Panikkar has said, " It was the first step in India's Discovery of Europe. From that time,

1. Vera Micheles Dean, *New Paterns of Democracy in India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959 p. 2.

2. D. Mackenzie Brown, *The Nationalist Movement: Indian Political Thought from Ranade to Bhave* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), p. 7.

3. Iqbal Singh, *Rammohun Roy*, Volume 1 (New York Asia Publishing House, 1958), p. 211.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

at first a trickle, then a constant stream of visitors flowed into England which by the end of the century assumed proportions of major social significance for India."[4] Of course the great mass of the people were unaffected by this new wine of western learning as the opportunities of education were limited to a few. Nevertheless the decision taken in 1835 was one of the turning points of Indian history. It opened the floodgates to European thought and literature and exposed the best brains of India to the powerful impact of English liberal thought.[5] The process that set in towards the beginning of the nineteenth century continued to work. The struggle for freedom brought instalments of constitutional reforms and greater participation first in representative and then in responsible government. During the latter part of British rule autocracy moved hand-in-hand with democracy so that democracy might learn its pace and then be trusted to walk alone in India. Accordingly when independence came and India adopted a modern system she was not altogether unprepared for it. Her apprenticeship at the hands of the British stood her in good stead. Of course there have been and there still are forces of conservatism and tradition on the one hand and subversion on the other, yet the infant Indian democracy, trying to stear clear through both has not fumbled and appears to have some measurable success in sight. It is true that a complete break-through has not been possible and India has not been able to disengage herself from the traditional beliefs and ways of life which were particularly ingrained in her system for ages past. The rate of social change and economic betterment has not been fast enough to keep pace with the political changes that have followed in the wake of independence. Old and obsolete social values are struggling for survival. The lack of social communication due to illiteracy, poverty and narrow localism still persists. Though untouchability has been abolished, yet caste continues to throw its shadow on the Indian scene and it is not without an active hold on people's minds. A wide gap between aspirations and reality is there and the picture at times looks distressing, but the forces of modernization and democracy are actively at work on the Indian scene and free India can point to substantial achievements in the brief period of its existence. Whereas most of her neighbours have succumbed to forces of autocracy and dictatorship, Indian democracy has shown signs of strength to resist any such temptations, and India, in Pandit Nehru's words "with a population of over 446,000,000 and an electorate of over 200,000,000 remains the largest functioning democracy in the world."[6]

4. K. M. Panikkar, *The Foundations of New India* (London : George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963), p. 14.

5. Sir Percival Griffiths, *Modern India* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), p. 55.

Democratic Character of Indian Political System.

To convince those who consider India's title-deeds to be reckoned a 'democratic polity' dubious, it is not only necessary to refer to the constitutional frame-work which she adopted on January 26, 1950 but also to its actual working and examination as to how far principles underlying a democratic system come true in case of this infant democratic polity.

The Indian Constitution, we all know, was framed by a Constituent Assembly, indirectly elected on a limited franchise. It started functioning on December 9, 1946, and the work of enacting the Constitution was accomplished on November 26, 1949. Of course the Constitution was not referred to the vote of the people, nonetheless the preamble embodies the principle of popular sovereignty, and the Constitution is deemed to have emanated from the will of the people. It stresses on popular resolve :

1. To constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic.
2. To secure to all citizens
   justice, social, economic, and political ;
   liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ;
   equality of status and of opportunity ; and
3. To promote among all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

Having assigned themselves this ambitious democratic goal, the founding-fathers have provided a political system which breathes a true spirit of freedom, equality and tolerance. The constitution brings into existence a secular welfare state, with institutions of parliamentary democracy, fundamental rights and universal, equal, direct suffrage and secret ballot. With an independent judiciary, a broad-based democratic legislature, a responsible executive and an enforceable bill of rights assuring freedom and equality, the outward requirements of a democratic system have been fulfilled in the supreme law of the land, which is in line with other developed democracies.

6. Jawaharlal Nehru, "Changing India", *Foreign Affairs*, XLI (1963), 453-465, p. 456.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

But one can rightly argue that mere adoption of democratic institutions in a constitutional frame-work, though a good gesture, does not prove anything. Totalitarian regimes can also boast of "world's most democratic constitutions." The real issue is the spirit and environment in which these institutions work. It is this aspect which we have to keep in view in the course of our analysis.

Structure and Procedure of Government

The Indian constitutional system envisages a cabinet government both at the Centre and in the States. Following the British example, India has adopted a parliamentary type of government where the executive is taken from and is answerable to the legislature. All important positions within the governmental organization having final word on all matters of policy, the President, the Union and State Councils of Ministers, the Union and State Legislatures are all elected.

However the true test of representative government is the nature of elections and the nature of positions for which these elections are held. The first aspect of the test demands that elections should be uncoerced and periodic, and should be genuine contests. When we examine the Indian political system on this touchstone we find that elections are both periodic and uncoerced in India. Representatives are elected for five years in case of the House of the People and State Legislative Assemblies (if not earlier dissolved) and for six years (one-third retiring every second year) in case of the Councils of State and State Legislative Councils. Election to the House of the People and State Legislative Assembly is direct; and to the Councils of State and State Legislative Councils it is indirect. There is no bar to re-election. There is universal adult suffrage and secret ballot. The election is conducted by an independent Election Commission. There have been three General Elections in India so far and in spite of the fact that a large mass of Indian electorate is illiterate and at places narrow considerations such as caste and local interests have weighed heavily on the voters, on the whole the electoral process has not been abused in India, and voters have made discerning choices.[7] Indian and foreign scholars have made studies of Indian elections and electoral behaviour; and, their reports are on the whole encouraging for an infant democracy such as India with the largest electorate in the free world.[8] The complaints about Indian elections are usually based on their caste-alignments, and illiteracy of the great mass of the people with right to vote. Allegations of the stuffing of ballot-boxes are most rare, if not completely unheard of, in the Indian context. Bribery and threats to the voters' material and physical well-being have sometimes been reported and adequately dealt with. It is true that caste has played a dominant role in Indian society and is still a live force in certain segments, but with increasing mobility of the people and a trend of urbanization it is losing much of its appeal. It is undoubtedly a diminishing factor in Indian life. A close study of the last three General Elections shows that the experiment has come off well, in the context of the obvious limitations of a large mass of tradition-bound, illiterate people. The second important requisite is that it should be 'a genuine contest' and the outcome, not necessarily of every electoral contest, but at least of a series of elections' must be considered to be in doubt.[9] On the basis of the overwhelming majority of Congress Party in the Union Parliament and State Legislatures, one is likely to conclude that elections are not genuine contests here. This is to take an unnecessarily gloomy view of things. In the three General Elections Congress too had its share of surprises and some of its tall leaders were rejected at the polls.[10] Even Pandit Nehru with his long record of service to the nation could not return uncontested, and similar was the case with his illustrious sister, Mrs. Pandit, who contested a byelection from the Phulpur constituency vacated by Pandit Nehru's demise. The oppostion may be numerically weak and less well-organized but it is quite vociferous and articulate.

With regard to the procedure of government in the Indian context it can be said without fear of contradiction that constitutionalism is its integral part. The Indian governmental system is one of limited powers and the incorporation of a comprehensive bill of rights and an independent judiciary to protect those rights ensure constitutional rules of procedure and governmental activity. According to Pandit Nehru "We are far from being averse to change; we have embarked upon far-reaching changes and we propose to persevere with our plans and programmes; but we are convinced that the methods by which changes are brought about are at least as important as the changes themselves."[11] There is a

7. R. S. Arora, "People and Parliament in India: A Study of Electoral Behaviour", *Parliamentary Affairs*, XVI (Winter '62/'63), 55-66, p. 64.

8. Hugh Tinker, *India and Pakistan* (New York Federrick A. Praeger, 1962), Chapter III.

9. C. W. Cassinelli, *The Politics of Freedom* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), p. 9.

10. Myron Weiner, "The Struggle for Equality in India", *Foreign Affairs*, XI, (1962), 644-652, p. 645.

11. Jawaharlal Nehru, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

CC-0.Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

certain influence of Gandhi on Indian politics in its insistence upon constitutional means. To Gandhi it was not sufficient that the ideal should be *Loksangraha* or the welfare of all. It was even more important that the means used should be the right ones.[12] To him the end never justified the means. His role in the struggle for freedom fully vindicated this stand.

Political Parties

As political parties structure the political behaviour of the masses and make their participation possible and effective, they are almost an essential condition of the successful working of representative government. To make elections a real choice every democratic state should have at least two political parties. Of course there are a host of other political parties both of the left and the right, but the Congress has had a tremendous hold on the Indian masses ; and, as the results of the last three General Elections show, at least on the national plane the other parties are far behind the Congress. This has naturally led people to believe that Indian political system is only semi-competitive and a " one-party dominant ' system.[13] It is true that the Congress is showing signs of little wear. But if we analyse the election results more carefully, we find that Congress may be doing well at the national level, there is much greater opposition at the state level. The Congress being a large, old and better-organized party still seems to be irreplacable at the Centre to the masses of Indian electorate ; but, in the elections to the State legislatures and local bodies, the voter has shown greater discrimination. This only indicates that Indian politics is not the same at local, regional, and national planes.[14] Absence of a healthy two-party system is a real problem for India's future as a constitutional system.[15] This babble of multi-party system on the one hand and the dominant position of the Congress on the other are really disturbing elements of the Indian system. Prof. Von Der Mehden is right when he holds that exclusion from government of other political groups may lead to their alienation from the political system itself and may encourage the growth of authoritarian ideologies among those excluded. Judged from this sound point of view India's party development has been far from normal.[16] When Pandit Nehru was alive and at the helm of affairs, he was approached by public men to join hands in the organization of an effective opposition to Congress in order to give an alternative government to the country in days to come, yet his attitude towards the Opposition was always one of respect. Perhaps Nehru thought that at this stage of India's development Congress alone could deliver the goods. In a way Nehru's presence on the Indian political scene was a set-back to the growth of other political groups. He was a charismatic leader having tremendous hold on the masses, and he made use of this hold for his party. In this respect he was very different from Gandhi, who suggested several hours before his assassination in 1948 that the Congress should dissolve and convert itself into a Lok Sevak Sangh, and a political people's service association.[17] There are people like Jayaprakash Narayan who think in terms of partyless democracy for India. But there do not appear any signs of India's growth on partyless basis. There are groups both of the right and the left, communalistic and communistic leanings and they share nothing between them to join together. The Communists are at the extreme left. The Swatantra Party is representing the forces of conservatism. The Congress, the P. S. P., and the Socialists are all parties of the middle with varying degrees of socialist content. The Jan Sangh claims to be progressive but its cult is that of militant Hinduism, trying to project the past of Hindu ascendency and as such a typically non-secular and reactionary organization. There are minor parties operating mainly at the State level. In this welter of party and group divisions the Congress comes out easily the strongest. As is evident from the figures of the last General election of 1962 Congress could come out with approximately 73% seats for polling barely 45.6% votes for the House of the People.[18] What appears to be more probable, therefore, is that Congress might itself disintegrate in the near future and provide effective opposition from amongst its ranks. This has happened in the past, as almost all prominent leaders associated with Opposition parties were in the Congress when it was engaged in the freedom-fight. Even this weak and rather disorganized Opposition of the present is better than its complete absence, as it gives anxious moments to the Congress.

12. K. M. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

13. Fred R. Von Der Mehden, *Politics of the Developing Nations* (Englewood Cliffs : Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1964), p. 59.

14. A. H. Somjee, " Forms and Levels of Political Activity in Indian Villages ", *Political Studies*, XI (1963), 1-10, p. 8.

15. Norman Dunbar Palmer, *The Indian Political System* (Boston : Houghton-Mifflin Co. 1961), p. 214.

16. Fred R. Von Der Mehden, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

17. Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, " Consensus and Conflict in Indian Politics ", *World Politics* XIII (1961), 385-399, p. 385.

18. R. S. Arora, *op. cit.* pp. 64-65.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

The Congress has to keep on its toes to maintain its present ascandency.

Concept of a Welfare State and the Indian System.

The broad policy to be followed by the government is incorporated in the Directive Principles of State Policy and the Preamble of the Constitution. The Constitution says, "The state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which social, economic and political justice shall inform all the institutions of national life."[19] The entire Part IV of the Constitution is a commentary and elucidation of the principle. This part of the Constitution constitutes a code of ideals and incorporates Gandhian, socialistic, and liberal principles to bring about better living conditions. Of course it is not justiciable, nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country. The success of a government is to be judged from its measure of success in translating these ideals into reality. Of course there is severe criticism of this incorporation of an ambitious programme of action in the body of the Constitution. Some call it a pure windowdressing and mere pious wishes. Well-meaning friends of India, like Vera Micheles Dean sometime wonder whether social-advancement has not been "over-sold in India."[20] It is true that India has to cover a long and difficult road and as Selig S. Harrison has pointed out "the most dangerous decades" lie ahead.[21] Yet these ideals constitute the myths of Indian polity through which she looks and works for a better future. They are in the nature of an Instrument of Instructions, a code of reminders from the founding-fathers that every government has to strive hard to realise them in order to prove its worth. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, said in the Constituent Assembly "In enacting this part of the Constitution, the Assembly is giving certain directions to the future legislature and the future executive to show in what manner they are to exercise the legislative and executive power they will have. Surely it is not the intention to introduce in this part these principles as mere pious declarations. It is the intention of this Assembly that in future both the legislature and the executive should not merely pay lip-service to these principles but that they should be made the basis of all legislative and executive action that they may be taking hereafter in the matter of the governance of the country."[22] Agriculture and industries are not in good shape. People live at below-subsistence level. All the noncomitants of a backward economy are there. Industrialization is the answer to India's long-term problem, but in order to feed her vast and growing population agriculture cannot be neglected. At this low level of development and with limited resources to try to accomplish all this at the same time and without resort to force and violence is a baffling task, yet there are manifestations of the will to survive as a democratic state. During these few years of independence she has launched five-year plans as yard-sticks to measure progress, chart directions, and check deviations. What is aimed at is a process of continuous growth. The goal is to change the face of India and to bring the glow of freedom on the faces of her millions of sons and daughters. The attempt to combine rapid economic and social progress with institutions of an open democratic society, using constitutional methods and relying on public support is a challenge which she has accepted. Her success will largely depend upon the response of her people, their capacity to wait and willingness to persevere. If the present is any guide, the future seems to be bright.

Civil Liberties

Prof. Cassinelli in his analysis of the modern democratic state holds civil liberties as "the most striking of democracy's principal phenomena". According to him the term civil liberty designates two types of liberty : the absence of regulation regarding matters of conscience and expression, and the absence of arbitrariness in governmental procedure.[23] This analysis may well be applied to the Indian political system. The Constitution of India lays great emphasis upon civil liberties, as is manifested in the Preamble and Part III of the Indian Constitution providing Fundamental Rights. The Preamble embodies the resolve of the people to secure to all citizens among other things, liberty of thought, expression belief, faith and worship. The Right to Freedom, and the Right to Freedom of Religion are two very important fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. The Right to Freedom has been provided under Articles 19-22 and the Right to Freedom of Religion under Articles 25-28. Under Article 19 various types of freedom have been ensured to the Indian citizen :

19. The Constitution of India, Article 38.

20. Vera Micheles Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

21. Selig S. Harrison, *India: The Most Dangerous Decades* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 5.

22. The Indian Constituent Assembly Debates, VII, p. 476.

23. C. W. Cassinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

freedom of speech and expression, to assemble peaceably and without arms, to form associations or unions, to move freely throughout the territory of India, to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, to acquire, hold, and dispose of property, and to practice any profession, to carry on any occupation, trade or business. Of course there cannot be any such thing as aboslute liberty for that would lead to anarchy and disorder, and accordingly, reasonable restrictions can be imposed under law. Not only this, the Constitution provides for preventive detention.[24] It is true that the use of this provision has been made sparingly and that too, against communist subversion and other threats to the security of the state. The framers provided certain safeguards to mitigate its harshness by placing fetters on the legislative power and the Indian Parliament has also lessened its rigour in periodic legislations. This reactionary feature of the Constitution has come under severe fire both in and out of the Parliament. However its sparing and non-political use by the ruling party has been widely appreciated both at home and abroad. As for Right to Freedom of Religion India is a secular state and guarantees complete religious freedom to all. All the major religions of the world command a following in India. The bulk of the population is Hindu, but there are also 47 million Muslims, 11 million Christians, 8 million Sikhs, 3 million Buddhists, 2 million Jains, and 20,000 Jews. More Muslims live in India than in all the Arab countries of Asia combined, more Catholics than in the whole of Ireland.[25] The state keeps its hand completely off religious practice. There is no relationship between the state and the church on the one hand, and between the church and the school on the other. This attitude towards religion is very much different from the traditional way of life in India followed over many generations, and discontent has been voiced at times over this religious indifference on the part of the state. Yet in view of the lessons of the past, the founding fathers wisely chose to keep the state aloof from religion ; and, secularism is a living political reality in the Indian political system. In a country which has had about forty years of separate electorates and communal representation it is a point of great departure. The adoption of the secular ideal may be said to be the result of the western inheritance and marks a definite breach with immediate past. Whatever may be said of the failings of Congress rule in India, its one great achievement is its conscientious adherence to the ideals of secularism. Untouchability has been abolished and its profession or practice has been made a punishable offence.[26] This was the removal of a great social evil eating into the vitals of India's life and weighing heavily on the conscience of the nation. The complete abolition of untouchability was one of the visions of Mahatma Gandhi in his ' Ramrajya ' and the removal of this evil marks the realization of the Gandhian ideal without any qualification. Of course the caste system persists and its baneful effects as a divisive force are being realized, yet it is much different from untouchability as it does not result in that social injustice in which the untouchability resulted. It is true that there are still segments of Indian society which do not look upon this abolition of untouchability with an eye of approval, and try to practise it ; but they are losing ground. There is not only the fear of punishment, but also an increasing social disapproval of this grave social injustice.

With regard to absence of arbitrariness in governmental procedure, India is much different from most of the emerging nations. There is a great western impact on India's political institutions and inspite of the fact that her own political traditions have been authoritarian, India has adopted a system which does not permit arbitrariness in governmental procedure and closely follows the western pattern in this regard. As K. M. Panikkar has said, " Modern India does not live under the laws of Manu. Its mental background and equipment, though largely influenced by the persistence of Indian tradition, have been moulded into their present shape by over a hundred years of western education extending practically to every field of mental activity."[27] The adoption of the principle of limited government, a bill of rights with a separate right to constitutional remedies, supremacy of the judiciary and free and periodic elections with an electorate of over 200,000,000 rule out governmental arbitrariness and oppression of civil liberty.

Popular Participation

Democracy, as the term itself implies, rests upon popular participation in the processes of government. Whereas in a traditional or totalitarian society they are kept aloof from effective participation, democracy pins faith in the active role of a great mass of the community. It may be direct or representative. In a direct democracy people make laws and control

24. The Constitution of India, Article 17.

25. Hindustan Year-Book and Who's Who (1965), p. 104.

26. The Constitution of India, Article 17.

27. M. K. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

administration as in the Swiss Landsgemeinde system. In a representative democracy they participate through their representatives freely chosen by them at periodic elections. Like other western democracies India has adopted the system of representative democracy and the Indian electorate operates the political process through such freely chosen representatives. This participation by the masses has been possible primarily because of the political awakening that accompanied the Gandhian technique of nationalist movement. The Indian Constitution has provided for free elections on the basis of adult suffrage. Prof. Palmer has rightly held that in view of the conditions prevailing in India, the decision to base the Indian democracy on unrestricted, universal, direct adult suffrage was perhaps the boldest decision the framers made.[28] In view of a very high rate of illiteracy and difficulties of social communication due to rigid social structure such as caste system and regional and linguistic loyalties, this decision was indeed a momentous one. There were misgivings expressed in the Constituent Assembly itself about the desirability of introducing this system of unproved merit. Mr. P. K. Sen said, " . . . Before we launch our bark on the unchartered ocean of adult franchise, we have to be careful as to how to proceed. After all ours is an infant democracy and we have yet to know the shoals and sand banks and all the risks and perils of voyage . . ."[29] But what appears to be a gamble in genuine democracy to some observers was an act of faith with the framers, a faith in the common man of India and in his practical commonsense. Dr. P. Subbaroyan, one of the great supporters of the adoption of universal adult suffrage said, " I have no fears for adult franchise. The Indian humanity is such that they have enough commonsense, enough horse-sense which will make it possible for them to choose their rulers with discrimination and to choose the people whom they think would be able to carry on the administration in a manner which will be for the benefit of the common man of whom we have so much talked in this House."[30] Measured by one of the severest tests, the holding of free, direct general elections, democracy has worked in India. In spite of the economic and social backwardness, as high as 83% illiteracy and the persistance of the caste system, she has succeeded in establishing and operating " the greatest democracy in the non-western world."[31] This massive demonstration of democratic procedure was vitiated in some cases by non-political forces such as caste and extreme localism no doubt, but on the whole the Indian electorate has shown remarkable maturity. Recent studies conducted in Indian electoral behaviour indicate this abundantly.[32]

Consensus v. Conflict in the Indian System

Every system has certain myths. There are political myths in every democratic state which are shared by other democratic systems with variations of emphasis but there are such other myths also which it does not share with other democracies. The Indian political system also has its resemblances and differences with other democracies with regard to political myths which she has adopted such as freedom and liberty, constitutionalism, self-government, popular sovereignty, and the like, But she has certain myths which are remarkably different from other democratic polities. Such departures are largely due to her traditional background, historical experience, and socio-economic structure.

One of such myths is a search for consensus. This search for consensus is an attempt to give the appearance of unanimity where it does not exist. Of course the whole of Indian system is based upon the democratic principle of majority decision, yet this emphasis upon consensus in practice is a curious phenomenon. Majority decisions and opposition arise from alternatives and free choice, whereas consensus arises from the exploitation of a traditional order often involving latent partiality and weighing of scales. According to Rudolph, " There is a certain moral remorselessness about this dichotomizing of political possibilities into harmonious consensus and destructive conflict. It is as though Indians had before them as political texts only Plato's *Republic* and Machiavelli's *Prince*, but no Aristotle's *Politics* to put the case for men as they are and for the best practical state, or Mill's liberty to argue from the proximate and tentative truths, which emerge from contending alternatives."[33]

This laboured attempt to bring out consensus in place of freely-reached majority decision shows that Indian society today is, as Prof. Morris-Jones has pointed out, " a fragmented society with an absence of basic consensus ".[34] If

28. Norman Dunbar Palmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

29. The Indian Constituent Assembly Debates, X, p. 830.

30. Ibid, p. 693.

31. Vera Micheles Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

32. R. S. Arora, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

33. Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

34. W. H. Morris-Jones, " The explorations of Indian Political Life ", *Pacific Affairs*. XXXII (1959), 409-420, p. 419.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

democracy is to work effectively, the principle of majority decision has to be adhered to. Spontaneous unanimity on certain vital issues is good but to work for it deliberately does not agree with sound democratic practice. This idea of political consensus, inherent in the traditional Indian belief-system, is partly bound up with the growth of the nationalist movement also, when need for closing the ranks against British imperialism led early leaders to suspect all opposition. But mainly it derives its strength from the traditional Indian view of conflict where " those who seek power are suspect ; they are suspect in the pursuit of power and in its exercise because in both they embrace what Yudhishthira feared, pride, wilfulness, desire, expediency."[35] While admitting this weakness of being engrossed too much with consensus it may be pointed out that it is largely confined to local and village politics and election to Congress bodies. That in the last three general elections the number of uncontested seats was negligible is a hopeful sign. The Congress Party can do a lot in this direction. So far the Congress party leadership has quite often gone in for behind-the-scene moves to work out a consensus in face of sharp divisions. This has been frequently in the choice of leaders of State party legislative bodies, as also when the choice of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri as Pandit Nehru's successor was brought about. At the present stage of its strength the Congress can serve the nation better by giving up this obsession with consensus. Its adherence to the principle of majority decision can strengthen the forces of democracy in the country. It should not only tolerate conflict but should even encourage it to give occasion for the democratic processes to find solutions to problems.

The Basis of Indian Democracy

Prof. Cassinelli in his analysis of the modern democratic state recognizes an important connection between democracy and the Middle Class with its " gifts of fortune in moderation ". It is true that the approach of the middle class is broadly rational and prudent, and it is wedded to constitutionalism. A middle class man desires a government capable of protecting and promoting his interests, but not capable of wielding too much power, and as such he has a continuing stake in democracy. In India also, this Middle Class has played a tremendous role in the rise and growth of nationalism. Its rise was the most significant aspect of Indian social life before the Gandhian movement. Men like Dadabhoy Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, Phirozshah Mancherjee Mehta, Mahadev Govind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were all mouthpieces of this rising Middle Class in Indian politics. Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak who was more militant among the nationalist leaders tried to take the movement to the masses and make it a mass struggle. Tilak did not live long to guide this rising mass movement and the mantle of leadership fell on Gandhi who guided it right up to the attainment of freedom. As K. M. Panikkar has said, " It was the arrival of Gandhi on the Indian political scene which brought the movement to the masses. Prior to this it was this Middle Class which brought the Indian National Congress into existence, served as the mouthpiece of the political aspirations of the people, developed a press and public opinion in India and provided leadership to the social and political movement."[36] Fears have been expressed that as time passes those who wielded power thus far will have to yield to those who wield the power of the vote, meaning thereby the masses of the people. However, there is no cause for alarm. With the passage of time as the Plans bear fruit and living conditions improve there will be a greater mobility among classes and substantial increase in the volume of the Middle Class itself. It is true that at present there is abject poverty in India and a large section of the community is living below subsistence level, but with the great effort which is being put in, things are bound to improve. It is with this increase of prosperity that the blowing up of this class line is intimately linked. This cross-over of a sizable section of the community is likely to strengthen the forces of moderation. Having been brought up in the Gandhian tradition of moderation the emerging section of the Indian people does not show signs of unrest and explosion The Indian revolution will be at most a conservative revolution. The Middle Class will continue to guide the destiny of the nation. Of course the prophets of gloom may hold that it is being too ambitious to think that India will be able to wipe off her poverty in any foreseeable future, and with her pressure of population, has long years to live in poverty. To this line of thought the talk of return of prosperity may sound out of place, if not absurd. But with all the gap between aspiration and achievement, India is forging ahead, and there is marked improvement in the conditions of living in the country. Her entire future as a democracy depends upon improvement of living conditions and removal of poverty and illiteracy. The challenge is great ; and, so is the response. This belief in the

35. Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

36. K. M. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

supremacy of human effort is itself a break with the past. Prof. Mehden, in his analysis of the politics of developing nations, concludes: "If all the goals given above are used as the standard of political development, in the Afro-Asian area only Japan and Israel could meet the definition—with the Phillippines, India, and Malaysia only approaching it."[37] In the attainment of the ambitious goal to which India has addressed herself, there are major handicaps no doubt. Within less than three per cent of the total land area she has to accommodate over fourteen per cent of the world's population. More people live in India than in both the Americas, North and South. Compared with the United States, India has a third of the area, but almost two and a half times as many people. The land area per person is less than two acres—not all of it available for cultivation—compared with fourteen acres in the U.S.A., and twenty-six acres in the U.S.S.R. This unfavourable ratio of man to land in a country where seven out of ten depend for their livelihood on agriculture is a major handicap.[38] But the resolve to bring justice, social, economic, and political and better living conditions to all her people is equally firm. The calling forth of the untapped human and natural resources is indeed a great revolution she is passing through. Her returns through the democratic process may not be as quick as may be under authoritarian regimes, but she has full faith in the means employed for the achievement of the goal aimed at.

37. Fred R. Von Der Mehden, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

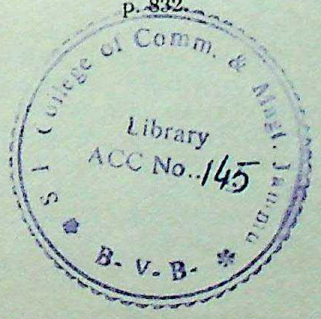
38. Ronald Segal, *The Crisis of India* (London : Jonathan Cape, 1965), p. 171.

Prospects of Democracy in India

The final issue of our analysis of the Indian system is whether democracy has any future in India. Is it going to survive or India will go the way, most of the countries of the East have gone? It is true that she is passing through a period of great strain and stress and there are tremendous obstacles such as illiteracy, poverty, pressure of population, local and regional loyalties and pressures from without which militate against the successful working of democracy. Caste continues to throw its shadow as a divisive force on Indian society. Reactionary communalism continues to pose a threat to the existence of healthy secular ideals. Scholars like Selig S. Harrison point to the most dangerous decades ahead.[39] Neverthless free India can point to substantial achievement in the brief period of her existence as a free nation. Poverty and illiteracy cannot be removed overnight. India has shown the will to exist as a free and democratic system. She is one of the few emerging nations where both political stability and competitive politics are available. The Congress with all its limitations is one of the most successful party organizations to be found anywhere in the developing nations. Its success in maintaining a measure of internal cohesion and above all in winning popular elections has made it possible for India to have stable and relatively effective governments at the State and national levels.[40] Whatever the present limitations of democracy in India, its future seems to be safe in the Indian system.

39. Selig S. Harrison, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII.

40. Myron Weiner, "Traditional Role Performance and the Development of Modern Political Parties: the Indian Case", *Journal of Politics* XXVI (1961), 830-849, p. 832.



CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CHAPTER III

RURAL PROBLEMS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

TOWARDS AN ANALYTICAL UNDERSTANDING OF RURAL LIFE*

by S. G. Hiremath

The village is an assemblage of interrelated families. In any study of the village community, the major focus is invariably on family and kinship. In a village we do find groups larger than families and these groups have to be thought of as specific association of families. Families as units of association enter into diverse patterns of relationships, these patterns themselves being interwoven together to constitute the complex structure of the rural social system. The specific organisation of families for the pursuit of economic, religious, political and recreational interests imparts certain stability to the rural social system. To term the rural community as a homogeneous structure is to ignore the complex organization of interests which one observes in any Indian village. The unity and complexity of rural social organization seems to be reflected in all the studies of the Indian villages undertaken so far.

The points of distinction between the urban and the rural communities could be established on the basis of the following characteristics, as formulated by Lynn Smith :[1]

1. Occupational pattern.
2. Size.
3. Density.
4. Environment.
5. Social class.
6. Social mobility.
7. Social stratification.
8. Heterogeneity.

These criteria for establishing the rural-urban distinction may not be fixed for the different culture areas and appropriate modifications have to be effected to achieve a meaningful characterization of the village community. The scale that could be used for the marking off of rural and urban characteristics may not be a continuous one, but the way in which the several characteristics of the village community cluster around definite points of the scale leaves no doubt as to the value of the measurable characteristics.

A rural community is distinguishable from the urban community with respect to its dedication to agricultural activity. Agriculture happens to be the principal occupation of the rural population and even though dedication to agriculture is not completely absent in the urban communities, the way in which the pursuit of agriculture is combined with non-agricultural pursuits which one observes in the urban communities is not true of the rural communities.

Agriculture can attain a certain degree of diversification depending upon the soil and climatic conditions. But these conditions alone are not sufficient for introducing a new crop, especially where it entails the adoption of new agricultural methods. As a consequence, vast areas become associated with the raising of definite agricultural products, as for instance, we speak of wheat-growing areas or of paddy-growing areas and so on.

The life of the peasant families and the institutional structure of village communities is very largely determined by the mode and pattern of agricultural activity. In another sense, one can discover close similarities among village communities in a whole region devoted to a particular mode of productive activity. In this context, one can speak of distinct culture-areas which are easily distinguishable with respect to specific characteristic traits of institutional organization.

The pursuit of agriculture requires that the peasant families live close to the fields. Whether it is a case of a nucleated village or a dispersed village, the number of families which a land can support is limited and the dispersal of families becomes inevitable as the rural population increases, and as new areas are brought under cultivation by such of those who can no more support their families through income derived from the existing lands. So long as no positive improvements are brought about regarding the yield from land, the phenomenon of colonization of fresh areas of land, which may not be very fertile, becomes imperative. Where the process of colonization and the establishment of new settlements is thwarted in the absence of fresh lands that could be brought under cultivation, peasant families have to move over vast distances in search of a suitable land for cultivation, thus losing all ties with their places of origin and their families of orientation. Under such circumstances, the rural family is subject to severe stresses and strains, thus disturbing the institutional structure of rural communities.

The growth in rural population and the consequent growth in the size of rural communities, which could have given the necessary impetus

*I am grateful to Dr. K. Chandrasekhariah, Head of the Department of Sociology, Karnatak University, Dharwar, for his valuable guidance in preparing this article.

1. See " Sociology of Rural Life."

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

towards diversification of rural functions is not observed even during a period of rapid growth of rural population. On the other hand, we find a trend towards rural depopulation, and an increase in the number of migrant labour from the rural communities. Internal migration is often associated with increased tempo of economic activities, but migration of persons within the farm areas has adversely affected community ties and a consequent decline in agricultural productivity. Where agriculture is no more pursued with the help of institutional exchange of services with close interdependence of rural families, we find that the successful pursuit of agriculture is dependent on one's capacity to engage hired labour, thus minimising the real income of agricultural families.

In a circumstance where agriculture is unrewarding, one can expect widespread rural indebtedness and the aggravation of a condition of privation and misery so far as the major portion of the agricultural population is concerned.

It is often stated that the prosperity of rural populations is dependent on the extent to which agriculture is combined with non-agricultural pursuits. Such a condition can arise only where agriculture is sufficiently rewarding to enable a peasant to devote part of his productive efforts to pursuits other than agriculture. But where it becomes imperative for a farm family to devote all its attention to work on the land, at least to derive the subsistence minimum, one can never expect such families to take to a new venture, however rewarding it may be. The status of a rural family is measured in terms of what it does on land and this explains the disinclination on the part of many rural families to dissociate themselves from work on land. The shift from agriculture to other pursuits is not achieved with the same ease with which it is achieved between one non-farm occupation to another. The pursuit of agriculture involves a rural family in an intricate system of social relationships, a condition which is not duplicated in any other form of productive activity.

It is not implied that the village cannot be a part of a larger system of social unity. Though the village can be viewed as an isolated unity sustaining a definite pattern of social relationships, it can be viewed as a unity in a larger system of interrelationships, the strands of social life in the village extending beyond the close nexus of a single community. Thus the strands of caste organization, kinship system, interchange of goods and services bring a number of village communities closer together. As land and locality are important factors explaining the integrated structure of community life, factors like caste, kinship and a pattern of interchange explain inter-village organization. To view a village community as absolutely self-sufficient is to ignore the more important ramifications of community life.

It is hard to view the village community as a static system, since the element of commonality cannot be discovered solely with reference to conditions obtaining in a single village. The fact that a village succeeds in establishing commonality with a number of neighbouring villages, the principle of commonality being itself viewed as a changing equilibrium of inter-village relationships, lends no credence to the view that the rural community is static. The change that one observes in the villages may not be as spectacular as the changes that one observes in an urban community, but still, the process of change and slow transformation of rural life is continuous.

Any exaggeration of the stability of rural social order will result in minimising the role of the ramifying factors of rural life. The conceptional categories and the methodological tools that the sociologist uses towards an analytical understanding of rural life must be so devised that the two-fold aspects of stability and change are appropriately represented.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

A LIMITED LOOK AT RURAL WORKS PROGRAMME

by B. M. Pande

The Problem

As in the Third Plan, the draft outline of the Fourth Plan is determined to deal with the problem of rural unemployment. Unlike in the Third Plan, the draft lays great stress on the programme "as an indispensable and organic part of the scheme of economic development". Even though the Plan has made a provision of Rs. 95 crores only it pins its hope on an ambitious rural works programme. The expectations are that by the end of the Plan it wll be possible to give work to 1.5 million people for 100 days in a year specially during the slack season. The scheme of utilisation of rural manpower is five years old now having taken birth in the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan although the scheme was put into operation only a year or two after the Plan was launched. The problem of finding employment for a large number of unemployed and underemployed in India (the draft Fourth Plan estimates that 23 million more people will want employment as against 17 million during the Third Plan) has been uppermost in the minds of our planners and administrators. The reason is not far to seek for the Indian rural economy is primarily agricultural. The 1961 Census mentioned the number of agricultural labourers as 31.5 million. Obviously there is a lot of unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas. While during the busy agriculture season labourers may find some employment but they are without it over the greater part of the year.

Amongst the various measures taken and efforts made during the Third Plan for increasing employment a significant one is that of organising rural works programme which was expected to provide work for quite a large number of persons for an average of 100 days in a year (2.5 million in Third Plan). As far back as 1960 the scheme was discussed by the Planning Commission with the State Chief Ministers. The memorandum which was prepared for discussion mentioned in this regard "It is well recognised that in present conditions the rural economy does not offer work throughout the year for large numbers of unskilled workers and that this problem becomes further accentuated on account of rapid growth of the population. The two main aims to be achieved are, firstly, that much more work should become available to all who are willing to work, and secondly, that available manpower should be used to the greatest extent possible in increasing agricultural production and creating community assets."[1]

Equally concerned was the committee on the welfare of the weaker sections which observed "The task of finding work for members of the community who have to live from hand to mouth so that their children must go hungry tomorrow if they did not work to-day, must receive the first and highest priority and not be left to the general process of economic growth to solve in due time. It is the responsibility that a civilised government cannot shirk. This matter should be dealt with exactly on the same footing as famine relief which is never made to wait upon the planned paces of development. For these persons it is famine everyday if they have no work."[2]

The Past

It naturally called for a comprehensive programme of rural works as was undertaken during the Third Plan and is envisaged in the Fourth Plan. The Third Plan very rightly observed that the rural works programme was significant not merely for creating the additional employment opportunities which are required but even more as an important means for harnessing the large manpower resources available in the rural areas.[3] The chapter on "employment of rural manpower" in the draft Fourth Plan has also pointed out that large scale underemployment exists in both the urban and rural sectors and says that in the rural areas in particular 'very low wages and levels of productivity' are the only symptom of this chronic problem.[4]

The works programme consisted of five categories of work. These included works projects as in the State Plans, works under obligation of law, development works on local contribution, schemes to build up remunerative assets and supplementary programme to be organised in those areas where there was high incidence of unemployment.[5]

This broad category of works, in all probability, will hold good even during the Fourth Plan. It is time that we made a review of how far and to what extent the rural manpower schemes

1. Planning Commission—Suggestions for the utilisation of Man Power in Rural Area—Memorandum prepared for discussion with the Chief Minisers—1960.
2. Report of the Committee on "The Welfare of the weaker sections of village community"—p. 16.
3. Third Five Year Plan—P. 163.
4. The Statesman—August 31, 1956.
5. Third Five Year Plan—Page 163-164.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

undertaken during the previous years have been able to accomplish the desired objectives and what have been the main problems and difficulties that have been faced in the execution of these projects.

The Scope

This article attempts to highlight a few problems which have come across in the successful implementation of the programme. The observations are based on a field study of three schemes in three Community Development Blocks in the State of Assam. While no positive generalization is attempted to be made on the basis of this small study yet the observations do serve the purpose of giving an insight into the nature of different difficulties and problems that are likely to crop up during the operation of the schemes. Thereby it may help those who are concerned with their implementation take such steps as would be conducive to the successful completion of the projects taken in hand.

The importance of the rural manpower schemes lies in the fact that these aim at creating opportunities for continuing employment for all able bodied and willing persons. The works have to be such as should create a permanent addition to the productive resources as also create community assets. The intention therefore has to be that works programme should be primarily undertaken in those areas which have a high incidence of unemployment and underemployment. The criteria for selection of areas may take into account many factors such as suitability of the project, improvement of the area for agriculture production, improvement of communication facilities, protection against floods, scope for such community assets as horticulture, plantations, fisheries, rural industries and so on.

The success of the rural manpower projects would primarily depend upon the proper selection of areas. A correct appraisal of such a condition would be possible only after a detailed survey undertaken to find out firstly the incidence of unemployment and secondly the scope of a particular scheme that may be taken in hand for those areas. The survey then has to be followed by drawing out detailed plans which may require the expert advice of technical experts. Since the schemes of rural manpower have to be undertaken in close collaboration with the people of the area it seems necessary that the projects are thoroughly discussed with the people and their representatives. Now that there is already a well knit system of Panchayati Raj institutions in almost all the States, these schemes can very well be discussed in the meetings of Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis. Surely such projects would be more successfully implemented, for the people of the area would give their willing co-operation. Instances are not rare when people have voluntarily contributed labour. During the past 6 or 7 years some 53 lakhs of Gram Sahayaks have come forward and they and others have together donated nearly 1160 lakh man-days of labour,[6] although it has been reported that the authorities could make use of only 7% of these efforts in the first year and 21% in the next year. In the case of the present study also I found that people in certain areas donated their land for the construction of roads. In one Block the total value of land was estimated at Rs. 30 thousand. Even where people have been paid their wages at the P. W. D. scheduled rates, they have accepted (willingly or unwillingly) a cut of 10% in their wages. It is of utmost importance therefore that in any schemes which concern the people their willingness and co-operation should invariably be sought. The Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats can help a great deal in mobilising the rural labour to work on the work projects even at such lower rates of wages as the Panchayats may decide. Similarly these organisations have a greater role to play in an execution of the schemes.

The Probe

It is quite commonly observed that a number of problems and difficulties arise in their own course during the implementation of schemes and projects in which people have to be involved, more so in rural areas. This is what has been our experience with programmes of community development. Even in matters of subsidies and loans that are granted for development programmes, people in the villages have not come forward willingly to take up the works save in exceptional cases where individuals or Panchayats have shown commendable interest. This is exactly what has happened in the case of the rural works programme also even though the involvement of people here is as paid labourers on a daily wage basis, the basic objective of the scheme being to provide employment to the unemployed and subsequently aim at economic and social betterment of the people through creating productive resources and permanent remunerative assets. People working in the programme have developed some sort of resistance and even apathy with the result that many work projects are lying incomplete threatened with the danger of being smashed and washed off. It would perhaps be worthwhile

6. National Herald—July 22, 1964.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

to review some of the main problems that have come to light as a result of my field study.

One of the major problems is the non-availability of local labour itself coupled with that of skilled masons. Most of these rural works projects consist of road construction or road-cum-bund schemes which demand a lot of earth work and construction of culverts and small bridges. Even granting that labour is sufficiently available to complete the earth work, the projects are halted half done because masons are not locally available for the masonry work. If these have to be imported from outside, the cost goes higher and there is no guarantee too of their easy availability. Further the non-availability of building material like cement adds to the difficulties. Perhaps the situation might improve with the decontrol of this commodity. Labour becomes scarce because of two main factors. One is the low rate of daily wages. The Estimates Committee of Lok Sabha on the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation observes in its ninety-eighth report, "It has been brought to its notice that in some States the minimum daily wage under the programme is less than Re. 1/- approved in this behalf. This is reprehensible."[7] In my own study I found that instructions were issued that the daily wages be reduced by 25% than the P. W. D. schedule of rate when work was done during the slack season and 10% during the cultivation period and this cut was to be treated as people's contribution. This alone has worked as a great deterrent to the satisfactory functioning of the scheme. To one of my questions put to the beneficiary respondents as to how they felt about the cut, majority of them said, " This is the ' compulsory ' part of our ' voluntary' contribution ". The other factor for the scarcity of labour is the system of irregular payment of wages. In the beginning wages were paid weekly. Later on these began to be paid fortnightly and ultimately the payment was delayed as much as by a month or two. Sometimes the sanction did not come in time. A study of the attendance of labourers on a single project for a period of three years reveals that in the first year 100 labourers per day worked on the scheme, in the second year it was only 60 and in the third year it came down to 40 only. Apart from the fact that a few of the labourers left for better prospects elsewhere, majority of them did so for low rate and delayed payment.

This calls for reconsideration on the part of the administration to devise such ways and means as would attract the local labourers to devote themselves more to the local work projects. Also advance arrangements for the supply of cement and other construction material need to be made apart from procuring the services of skilled masons. Time is a limiting factor and if the schemes are not completed within the stipulated period it sets in a sort of frustration in the local people and the honest intentions of those who give their sweat for the cause receive a serious setback.

Another important problem that has been observed is the inexperienced, immature and inadequate supervision and technical help that is given by the block level workers. In most of the places very young directly recruited overseers have been put in charge of the schemes. They neither have the ability to handle the local labour nor have the maturity of providing technical guidance. The rural manpower project is not the type of work that is ordinarily carried out through labourers engaged by a Contractor or a P. W. D. road gang. Here essentially the human element is involved because of the fact that the local project is agreed upon by the people of the local area for their own benefit. They are not in the ordinary sense the ' labourers ' but they are participants in the endeavour. So the overseer has to be more skillful in his approach, similarly the Block Development Officer and other block level workers. In my interviews with the officials and non-officials I did not find the spirit of joint working or the sense of joint responsibility. Everyone thought that the rural works programme concerned only the block overseer. I found the same attitude at the next higher supervisory level. To me this problem stems from the fact that by and large the rural manpower schemes include construction projects like road, road-cum-bund as stated earlier. Had there been other programmes like fisheries tanks, dairies, agro-industrial units, fruit trees plantations, perhaps more co-operation of other technical experts at various levels would have been forthcoming. Depending upon the local needs as warranted by peculiar local situations, more avenues and scope have however to be found for programmes of agricultural development which may involve a large part of rural families. The schemes of rural manpower utilization have to be more directly related, as far as possible, to the programme of agricultural production. On the other hand the official workers—mostly the block personnel–have to be more enthused to devote more of their energy to these rural works. Equally important is the role of Panchayati Raj institutions, voluntary organizations and

7. News item—Times of India—April 16, 1966

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

local leaders to be concerned about these programmes and helping their implemention by mobilizing local labour besides mobilizing people's opinion in favour of the work projects. The Third Plan mentioned that for the execution of projects necessary construction organizations and labour co-operatives should be built up. Voluntary organizations, it said, should be able to provide local leadership and undertake educational and cultural work.[8] The draft outline of the Fourth Plan also envisages the raising of a "task force" from among the rural youth (of the age group 15 to 25 years) by imparting skills to them. A sum of Rs. 5 crores has been provided for this purpose. There are already many thousands of rural youth clubs functioning in the development blocks in the country. The young energetic members of these clubs are a very potent resource for rural manpower schemes.

The Epilogue

An important aspect of the scheme is that the work projects once completed must be maintained well so that they continue to give the specific benefits for which they were undertaken. I have been told during my interviews with the people that they have no such funds as could be utilized for the repairs and maintenance of the projects. Wherever the repairs only involve earth work there should be no difficulty since the local villagers should be able to offer 'shramdan'. In cases where other building material is required or masonry work is involved, surely funds will be required. Different sources will have to be tapped. Panchayats may allocate some amount out of their own funds. Some sort of levy could also be imposed on the beneficiaries. This is one difficulty why I have been arguing about undertaking more of remunerative projects under the rural works programme.

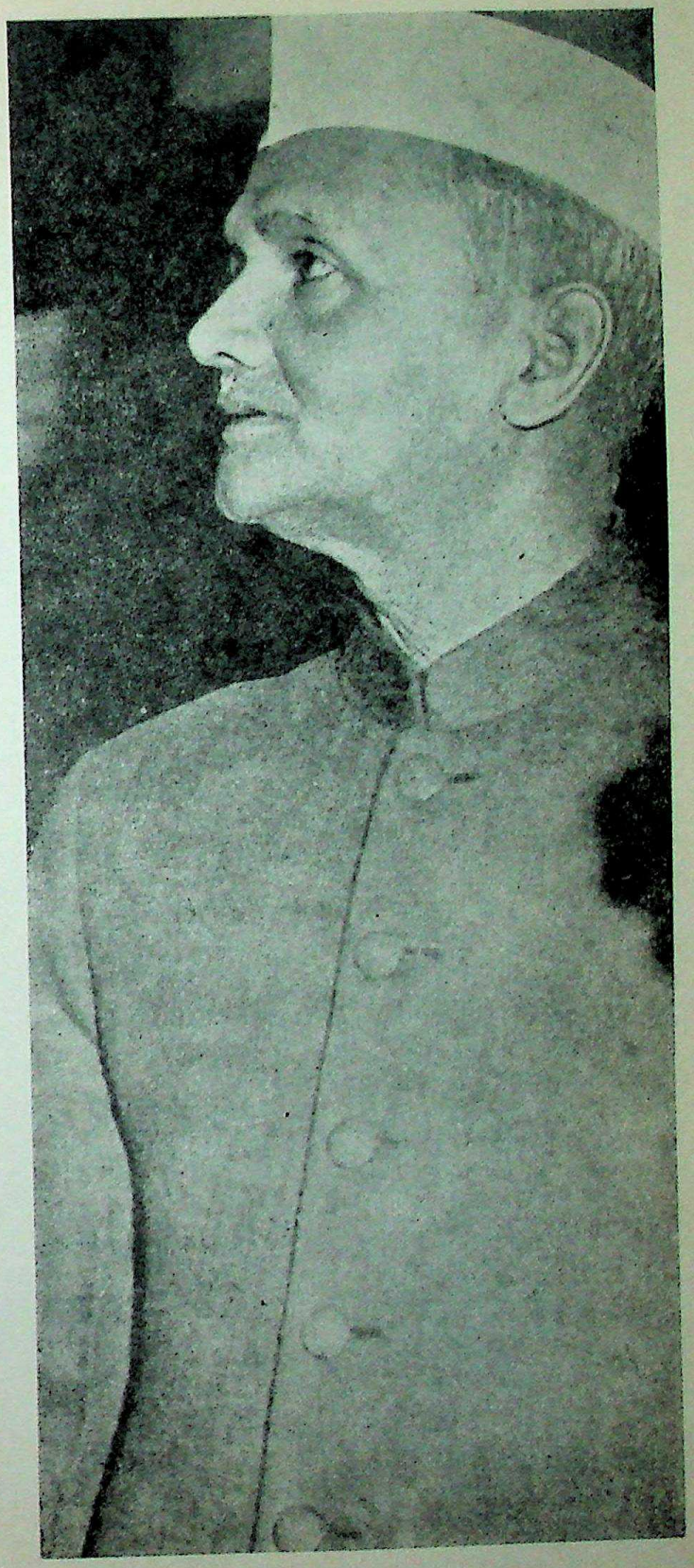
The works programmes that have been taken up till now have neither been of any magnitude in terms of the actual expenditure nor have these extended any marked benefits in return to the people. Let me again quote from the Estimates Committee's ninety-eighth Report, "The programme as a whole has made a poor showing in the Third Plan. Against the total allocation of Rs. 150 crores for the purpose, the actual expenditure may not exceed Rs. 18 crores. Though it was hoped to create 2.5 million jobs under the programme, its impact may in fact be no more than marginal".

Now that we are embarking on the Fourth Five Year Plan and that it lays great stress on rural works programme 'as an indispensable and organic part of the scheme of economic development' we have to be alert and extra careful in formulating and executing our projects so that the prime objective of the rural manpower utilization scheme is fully achieved.

8. Third Five Year Plan—p. 165

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

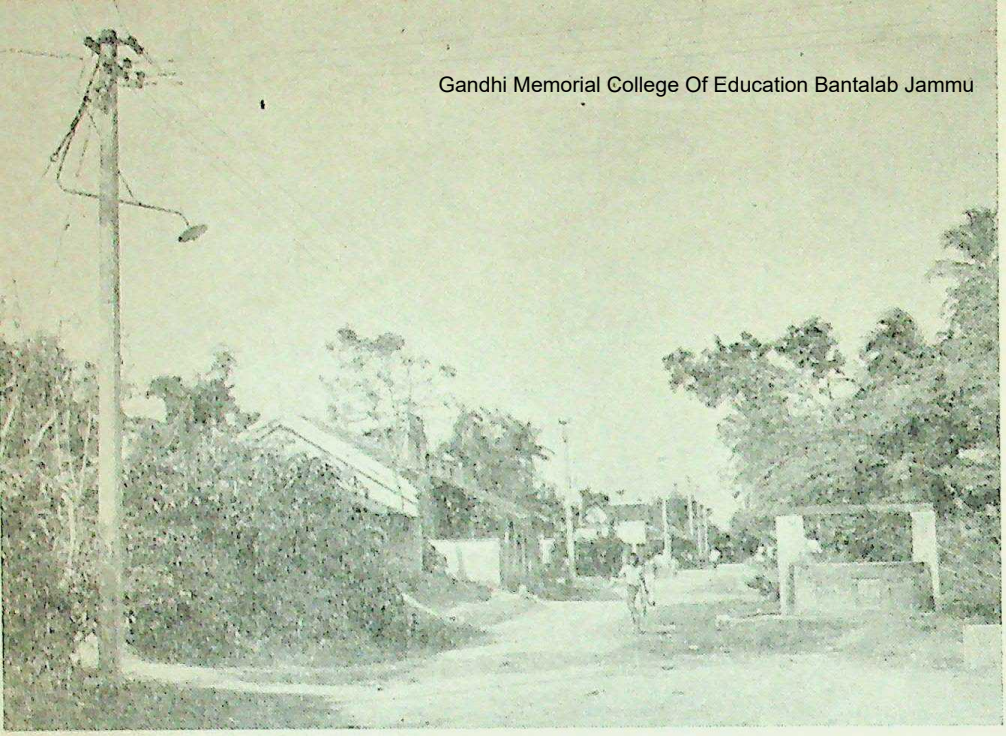


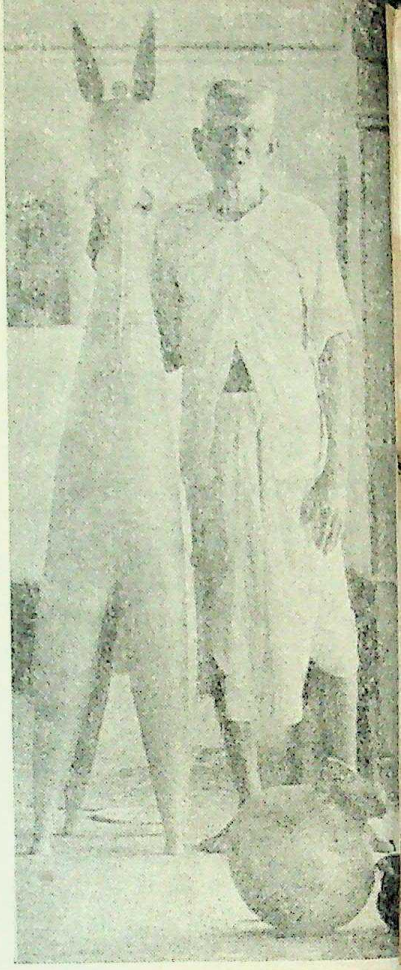
"If the experience of the recent past holds any lesson for us all, it is this: We must endeavour to be self-reliant as possible. In the ultimate analysis it is strength of the Nation itself which matters the most and which is our best safeguard."

—Late Lal Bahadur Shastri (Broadcast to the Nation, September 23, 1965)

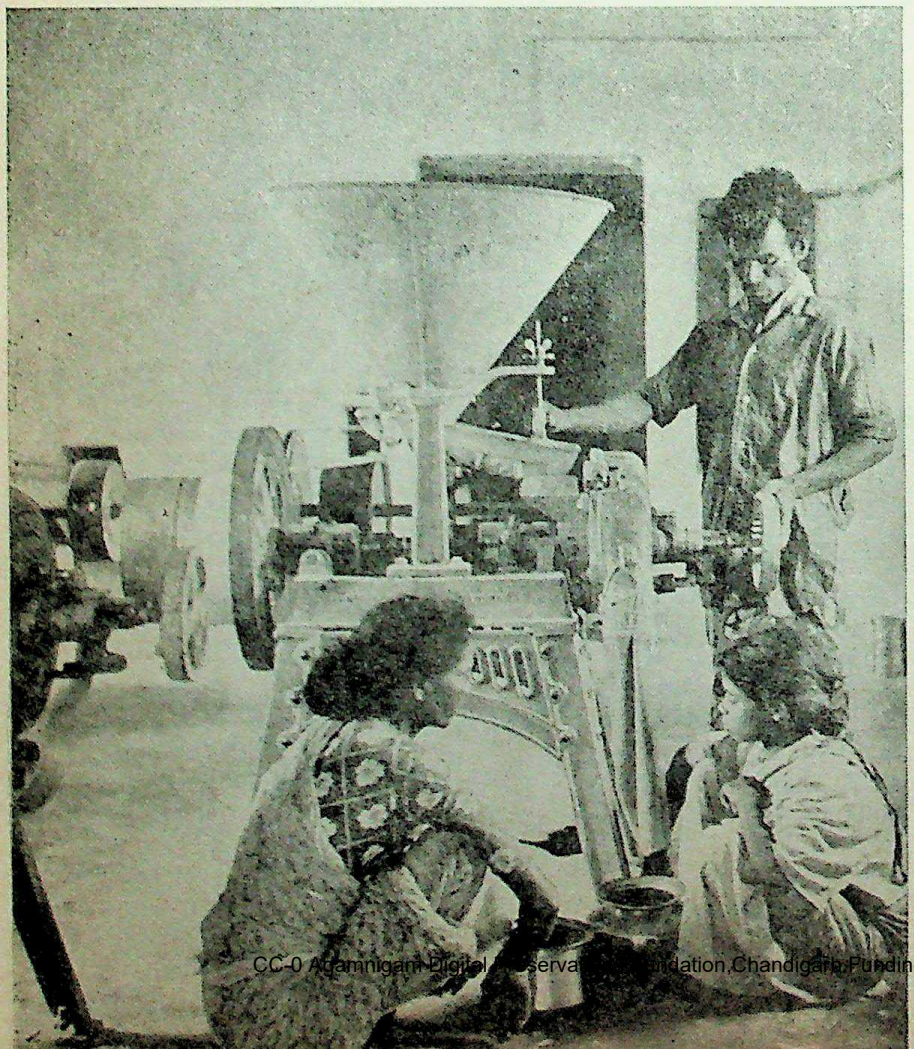
CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu





A NEW LOOK OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE



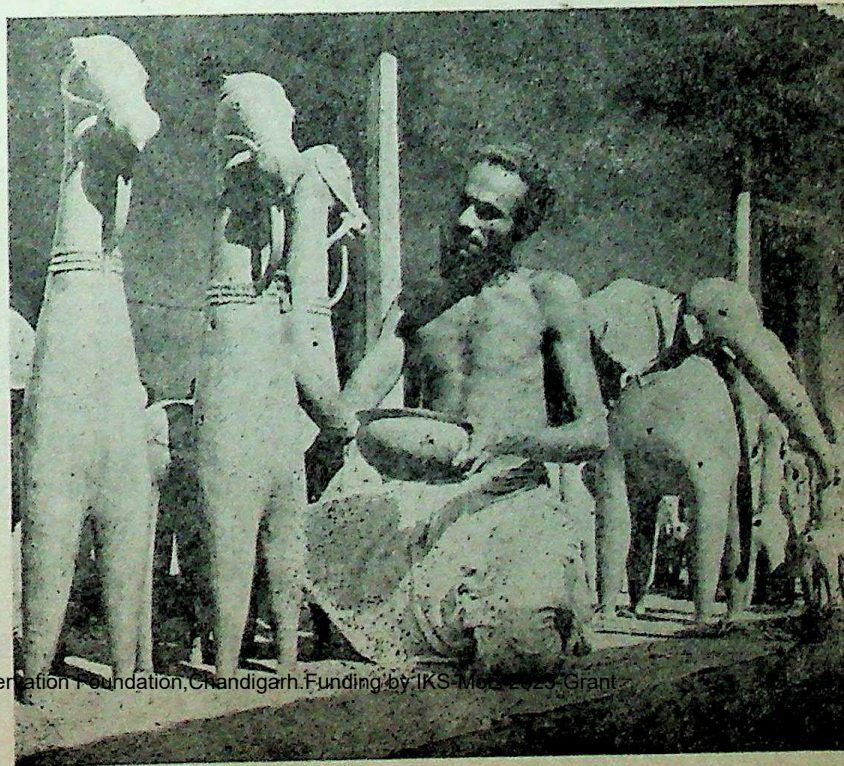
- top and bottom : a village with electricity
- top right : artist with his model

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

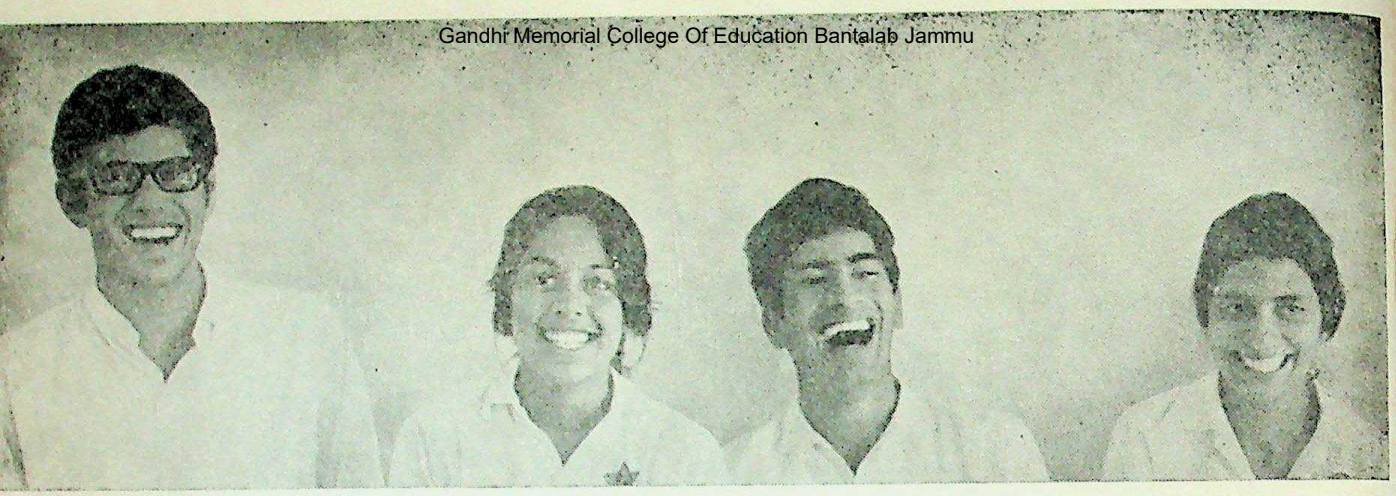
struggles of the mind

- an electronic engineer
- an artist

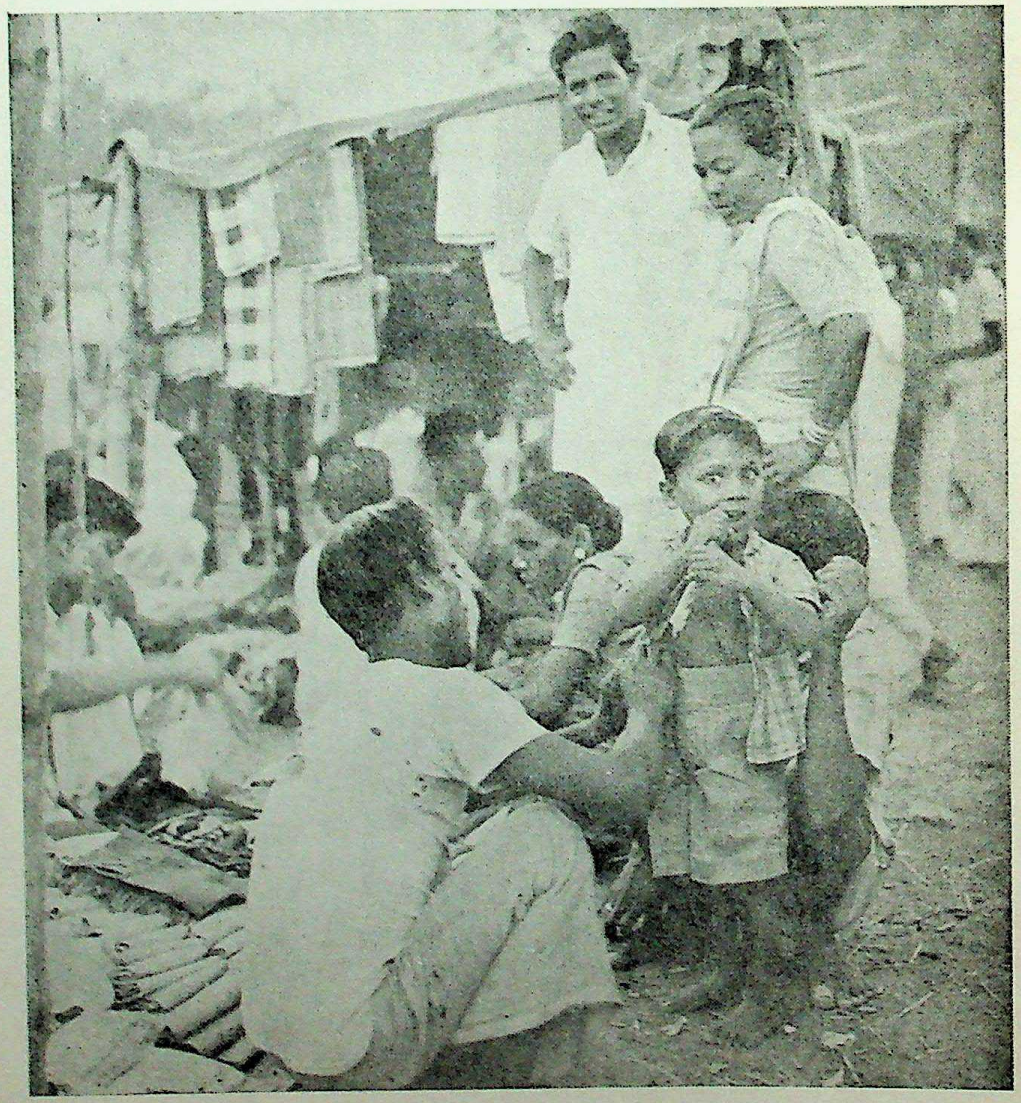


CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2023-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu



● right the wrong with a smile so fresh

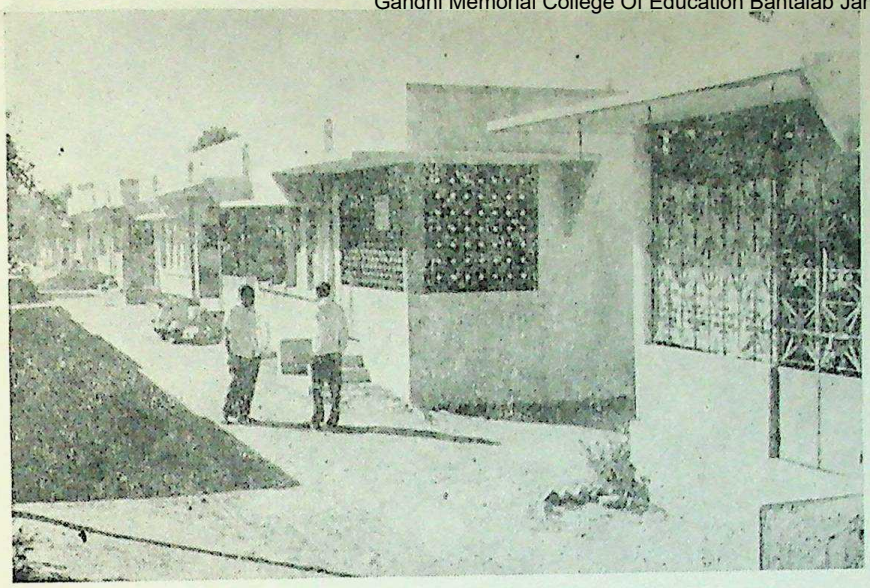


" Whose woods these are I think I know
His house is in the village though;"

— *Robert Frost*

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu



● top left
a co-operative
housing project

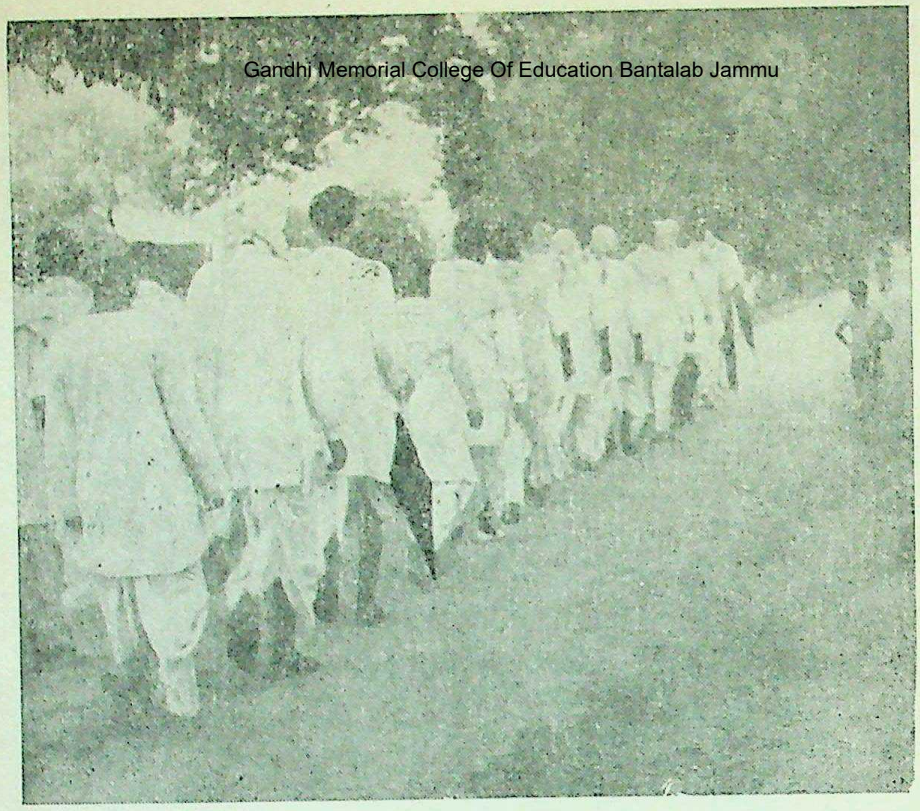
● a unique pattern of social transformation

● bottom left
mrs. sheila sandu, an
enterprising publisher

● bottom right
a planning expert

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu



THE UNFINISHED MARCH.....

.....IN MANY FORMS AND IN MANY WAYS

CC-0 Agamkumar Gandhi Heritage Preservation Foundation Chandigarh. Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant.

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

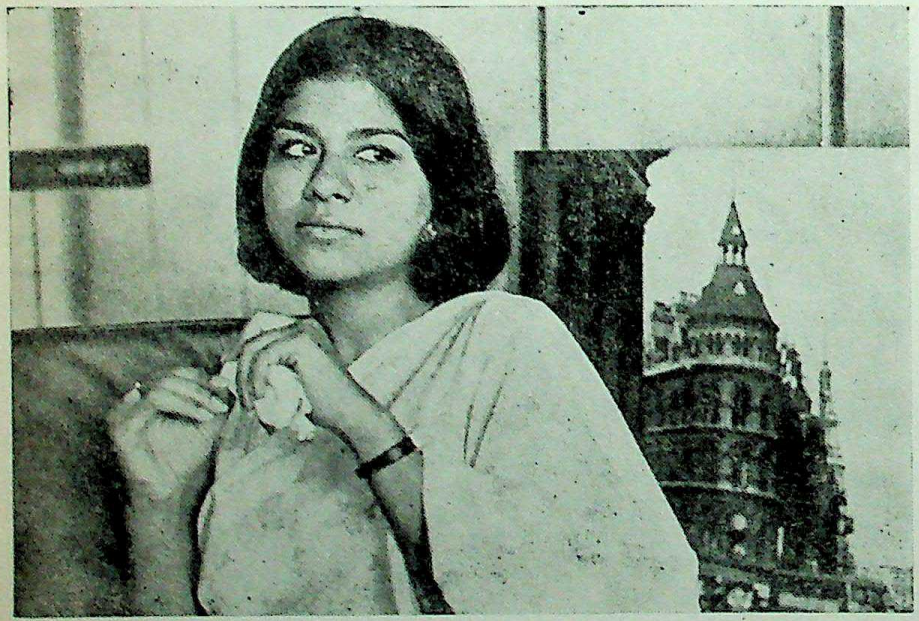
attempting to make
village life disease free

YOUNG INDIA
— a commotion
with no vision

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

there is a lull before
a thunderstorm!



● top right
malika, the artist

● mid-page
ila singh, an air-hostess

● bottom
shanti, the vegetable
seller

CC-0 Agamdaan Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by MoE-IKS

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CHAPTER IV

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES : A PLEA FOR RE-ORIENTATION

by L. K. Mahapatra

Though Sociology and Anthropology have been opened as academic disciplines since 1919 in Bombay and Calcutta Universities, respectively, the subjects are relatively uncommon. Hence wide-spread ignorance of these fields of learning is understandable. Apart from that, another factor, that of the attitude and interests of sister-disciplines in a University, is also operative. At almost all the Colleges and Universities of North India, including Nagpur and Calcutta and Gauhati Universities, Sociolgy and Anthropology are included in the courses of study in Political Science, in a few Universities also in Economics, Ancient Indian History and Culture, and in Education. Recently, a chair in Educational Anthropology has been established at Osmania University, Hyderabad. In Orissa only in 1958, a post-graduate Department of Anthropology had been established at Utkal University. At the instance of the Ford Foundation, a Department of Rural Economics and Sociology was opened in 1957-58 at this University. In addition to Sociology Departments, Departments of Social Anthropology were started at Andhra and Karnatak Universities still later in South India.

Anthropology has been most inclusively a discipline studying all related aspects of man in nature, culture, and society. It has traditionally had 3 branches—Social & Cultural Anthropology, Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology. In Anglo-American tradition all the three branches are held together and taught in the same faculty, often in the Science Faculty. In continental Europe, however, the three branches tend to be separate disciplines in their own right, attached to several faculties. Physical Anthropology invariably gets included in the Science or Natural Science faculty. In the wake of specialization of anthropological interests there have been deliberate attempts at inter-disciplinary stimulation, collaboration and validation, on an unprecedented scale. This has led to a recent spurt of special anthropologies—economic, political, psychological, educational, juridical, industrial, linguistic, applied, biological and even chemical and philosophical anthropologies. Mathematics is already making its impact felt, not merely through the back-door of statistics. Symbolic logic has already been applied to the study of social structure. Among all the branches or specialised developments, Social Anthropology is the most popular at present. In the American usage, social anthropology is a branch of Cultural Anthropology, which includes ethnography, ethonology, linguistics, and the generalising study of culture and society, with greater emphasis on culture. In the British parlance, Social Anthropology includes ethnography and the generalising study of culture and society, with greater emphasis on society. Anthropology as a whole aims at establishing reliable knowledge in the form of generalisations about the whole mankind, though traditionally the rather small-scale, technologically simpler peoples, the so-called ' primitive ' or ' Tribal ' peoples, were in the focus of their study. However, for the last four decades or so, anthropologists have busied themselves more and more with modern or civilized societies, their problems and with the transformation of the so-called tribal societies as a result of rapid spread of industrial civilization into the remotest corners of the earth.

Sociology, which took its rise from philosophy, soon developed specializations round the central theme of social relations, and lately, of social interaction. The humanistic source of sociology is comparable to that of anthropology. Social well-being has been the goal of sociology with special reference to the down-trodden in civilized societies, and in anthropology, the same goal has inspired early anthropologists with reference to the primitive peoples of the world in the throes of violent and drastic changes and exploitation by the colonial powers. But soon the scientific objectives took hold of both of them, through positivistic philosophy and method and in anthropology also via concern with natural history of peoples that were fast vanishing. Though theory and methodology were prominent in sociology and according to Becker, concern with methodology has indeed gone too far in the U.S.A., sociology was slower to concern itself with cross-cultural validation of its theories on the human society in general. Sociology, however, aimed at universally valid generalisations, but actually did not grapple with cross cultural variations. It was more culture-bound, and much more involved in the respective societies of the sociologists, compared to anthropology. This was not a limitation in all senses. The preoccupation of sociologists with their own societies enabled them to draw upon historical data, on philosophy, art, literature and other products of civilized life, bearing on groups, quasi-groups and communities in large-scale societies. Sociologists did not have to do the

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

type of exploratory studies anthropologists had to undertake in a different environment among strange peoples. The values, norms and behaviour-patterns in many aspects of social life were already known to the sociologists. Thus, sociologists were in a better position to develop a plethora of specialised sociologies—industrial, family, educational, political, economic, aesthetic, rural, urban, even mathematical, sociologies; sociologies of religion, work, knowledge, literature, law, culture, medicine and mental health etc., which are often paralleled in social anthropology; social biology, demography, pathology and ecology, again to be met with in anthropology.

With comparative, cross-cultural, approach more and more informing the theoretical studies in sociology, with sociologists turning their attention to primitive societies with distinctive cultures viewed as so many social experiments occurring in nature, and simultaneously, with many of them going to make empirical studies, not merely using statistics and large-scale surveys as was their wont, but also techniques like participant observations, holistic approach, and interpersonal behavioural data, sociology is coming nearer social anthropology. On the other hand, social anthropology in the U.K. and U.S.A. and to some extent in India, is more and more depending on historical documents, studying modern, industrialized or urbanized communities, using statistics and large-scale surveys with questionnaires, scales etc. and giving greater attention to problems of modern living. Thus, in aims, methods and fields of study sociology and social anthropology have been breaking the traditional boundaries and finding increasing area of common interest and programme. Social anthropologists have in recent decades been pioneers in reactivizing structural-functional theory and analysis of social systems, and in turn, refinements by sociologists in these fields are stimulating social anthropologists. This two-way traffic has been most salutary to the twin disciplines.

If these two disciplines are finding out their twin-ness, they are merely re-enacting the past. For, the classic authorities like Durkheim and Mauss in France, Herbert Spencer, Henry Maine, Mc Lennan in England and Lewis Henry Morgan in the U.S.A. are acclaimed as lineal ancestors of both Sociology and Social Anthropology. In France, in recognition of these genetic ties, the two disciplines have been combined since the days of Durkheim. In the U. K. today, we find the same trend, at least in the premier scientific body, the British Association for Advancement of Science, on whose model the Indian Science Congress Association had been forged. Anthropology has been accorded scientific recognition since the 19th century as a section in the British Association. Since 1960 a Sociology section has been added to the Association, comprising of Sociology, Social Anthropology and Social Psychology. Two of the five presidents of the Sociology section till 1964 have been social anthropologists. This fact formally seals the fate of sociologists and social anthropologists together.

However social anthropologists and sociologists may come together, the former have found it difficult to sever their ties with other branches of Anthropology, besides insisting on studies focussed on certain areas like kinship, interpersonal behaviour, quasi-groups, values, informal relations, study of primitive societies etc. Social anthropologists especially in America have tended to collaborate more with psychoanalysts and psychiatrists, as sociologists have traditionally worked with social psychologists, though here again there are developing cross ties. But sociologists still maintain their genetic ties with social philosophy on the one hand and with social work on the other. This last fact, according to some, has been largely responsible for withholding scientific status to sociology in the U.K. In the opinion of others, concern with social problems also has stifled the progress towards sociological theory in general other than that in piecemeal fashion in special sociologies.

On consideration of the traditional and modern preoccupations, methods, and aims of sociology and social anthropology and a historic trend of their pluralistic union, each discipline maintaining its partial independence in a general frame of increasing interdependence of social sciences,—the complementary relation between the two disciplines has been gradually institutionalized, that is, both have been brought together in the same academic organisations like a Department. This has happened widely in the U.S.A. and in some Indian Universities like Bombay, Saugar, Karnatak, Osmania, Patna etc.

The first Indian department of anthropology at Calcutta University and the first Indian department of sociology at Bombay were chaired by two students of Prof. W. H. R. Rivers of Cambridge University, himself a social anthropologist, originally specialized in psychology. The Department of Economics has in some cases been a foster father not merely of political science, but also of sociology and anthropology, as at Lucknow University. Prof. G. S. Ghurye's students trained at Bombay University are occupying chairs in Sociology at many universities in West, North and South India. To name only one, Prof. M. N.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Srinivas, Professor of Sociology at Delhi University, is himself a social anthropologist, and has a number of others on the staff in his department. The late Prof. D. N. Majumdar, a social anthropologist at Lucknow University had given doctoral guidance to many illustrious Professors of Sociology at several northern central and north and western Indian Universities and many colleges. This author was appointed Professor and Head of Sociology at Meerut College in 1955. The late Prof. Majumdar had taken the initiative and lead in organizing the Indian Sociological conference and was its first President. Prof. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, the doyen of Indian sociologists, also associated himself with this conference. A social anthropologist holds the chair of professorship in sociology at the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. Thus, social anthropologists and sociologists have worked hand-in-glove at the universities and the social anthropologists have been considered interchangeable with the sociologists. This has also happened in other all-India forums, like Planning Commission, Community Development Ministry and the like. It is, therefore, not surprising that social anthropologists have been pioneers in caste and village studies and even in urban studies in India.

In view of the need for inter-disciplinary give and take among the social sciences, not only sociology and social anthropology should be brought together, but also other social sciences, e.g. economics, political science and psychology (especially, social psychology) should, together with sociology and anthropology, constitute social science faculty ; in those universities where this is yet to be realized, early steps are called for. Anthropology is included in the Science Faculty in many universities whereas in continental Europe, two of its 3 main branches are found in Philosophy (or Arts) Faculty. In the U.S.A. anthropology is more and more classified as a social science with which its ties are numerous.

Even greater integration within the social science faculty will be achieved when sociology and anthropology are taught in the same department. Where departments of sociology and social anthropology exist separately, this is not at all an inconvenient union. For, social anthropology has been looked upon as Comparative Sociology by anthropologists like Radcliffe-Brown, even in the days when sociology was not held in high academic esteem in the U.K. Even when separate departments of anthropology and sociology exist or one of them is being established for the first time, one would still plead for the integration of Anthropology and Sociology, as social anthropology is a massive connecting link between the two, and even physical anthropology is of direct interest to sociology on the level of social biology, Demography, social statistics, race relations etc. are similarly other areas of common interest between anthropology and sociology.

Where the departments of sociology and anthropology exist separately, there is a strong case in favour of their pluralistic union with two semi-autonomous wings of a joint department. As sociology and social anthropology are twin disciplines, they may be subsumed under the wing of sociology in an integrated department of Anthropology and Sociology. Where there are separate departments of social anthropology and sociology, these may constitute a Department of sociology and social Anthropology, with two semi-autonomous wings. Each wing in both the cases could be under the guidance of a Professor assisted by other staff.

If this is done, a lot of duplication of efforts, double utilization of resources and drain on trained manpower could be avoided, students could participate in inter-disciplinary seminars and thus, the students could become better sociologists and anthropologists. The teaching and research staff could better coordinate their efforts and launch new projects with the resources pooled together. We shall take into consideration a neglected line of studies, that of area studies. Some anthropologists or sociologists could take up this highly urgent task.

Unlike in western countries or even in eastern Europe, we in India do not have anything like area studies. The Institute of African studies at Delhi is an effort in that direction. But departments of anthropology have not engaged in any area research, nor have the individual anthropologists in India. An area specialist is expected to master the languages or dialects of a particular area, study its ethnic, geographical, historical and ecological aspects, demographic, social, political, and economic structures, religion, customs and folklore, material culture, and technology, culture and personality, world view and values, social and cultural change etc. In other words, he tends to be an authority not merely on the peoples and villages he has directly studied but also on the total area with which he has had both direct and indirect contacts through regular visits and publications on the area by similar specialists in other countries. Area specialists have been typically, anthropologists, specially as they have been equally interested in biological, environmental, social, historical, and spiritual aspects of group life and changes occuring in them.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Because anthropologists have specialized in special areas in the U.S.A., U.K., Germany, France, Italy and elsewhere, they could be of essential help in training military and civil personnel, in planning strategy, or in evaluating the morale of the enemies population and combatants or predicting the unforeseen consequences of any planned measure either on the home force or on the other side. Of course, not only anthropologists but sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists were also brought to serve the military machine during the second World War. But, as area specialists, anthropologists were indispensable in war or peace in countries outside the home land. This was especially so because of a peculiar predilection on the part of anthropologists. Anthropologists have traditionally attached great importance to the masses, the people, or the "folk" component of the Great Society. And in the twentieth century, a century of the masses for the masses, as it has been often characterized, anthropological data on intimate doings, feelings, desires and thoughts of the differentiated masses in the countryside, have assumed vital importance in peace-time diplomacy or war-time strategy. It has been increasingly realized that ways of persuading, cajoling a foreign government or even manouvering a coup d'etat here and there with a specialized international spying agency like the C.I.A. of the U.S.A., have a natural limit. And this limit is set by popular upsurge, by the seemingly 'helpless' but more or less predictable masses. As if to convince the sceptics, there is a radical turn in popular politics in Indonesia for all to see. Trends of change in political alignment, of shift in power foci and of impending upsurges, are not to be discerned at the formal, organizational levels, as that of political parties, governmental institutions or religio-political movements, but also at the "lower" levels of little society, minorities, peasants and workers or tribal communities. Schools of International studies and departments of political science etc. may be doing wonderful work on these formal, organizational levels based on copious studies of voluminous documents. But there is a much-neglected—what is worse, so long not suspected to be of any value aspect of these studies, based mainly on direct first-hand investigations into the culture and society of the masses, especially their social values, national or group character, world view etc. Indeed this latter aspect was considered so essential that in the U.S.A. special methodology had to be developed during the world war II to undertake studies on peoples (advanced or backward) not accessible to direct field study (Mead & Metraux, 1953).

But it is regretable that neither anthropologists nor those in charge of defence have taken any steps in the proper direction. In January 1961 this author had drawn up a scheme for establishing an Institute of South-East Asian studies at Gauhati University and it was forwarded to the Prime Minister of India through the President, Indian National Congress, whom the author met. Inter-disciplinary studies of countries and areas bordering on China and in the south east of India, with a view to gathering knowledge of strategic value and to strengthening mutual understanding at the popular level in addition to the governmental level were proposed to be undertaken. The Prime Minister, not yet fully convinced of Chinese malafide intentions in spite of Longju debacle of 1959, did not give any consideration to the strategic value. Rather he equated the proposed institute with the Institute of African Studies, Delhi, with whose progress he was not satisfied. In 1963, again the author proposed to the present Defence Minister and Mrs. Indira Gandhi the then Chairman, Central Citizens Council for Defence, to institute area research on the north and north eastern borders of India, and on south eastern Asia. It is encouraging to note that since then the Planning Commission have sponsored research on northern borders under some anthropologists' guidance.

But more substantial things remain to be done, especially by anthropologists in India at the Universities. Since 1960 the author has been pleading for area studies to be undertaken by university departments or institutes of Anthropology. Such studies can be better undertaken, once sociologists and social anthropologists pool their resources together to undertake research in the same fields, thus releasing some anthropologists to specialize in some areas of the world, or to attend to some other neglected studies. Then, each university with a department of anthropology and sociology could specialize in one area of the world, so that within India between these departments all the important areas of the world would have been covered. Diplomatic staff, trade missions, or cultural delegations could be given orientation by these area specialists. Even these specialists could undertake evaluatory studies of the work of the diplomatic staff or other missions and delegations, if there be any need. This is not un-usual in western countries. The author knows a Professor of Indology who had been sent to India on a similar evaluatory mission. It is hoped, anthropology and sociology will be given adequate opportunities to contribute to the national efforts in defence and diplomacy.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

REFERENCES

Backer, Howard, 1954.	" Anthropology and Sociology " in For a Science of Social Man(ed) John Gillin, Macmillan.
Gluckman, M. & Eggan F. 1965.	Introduction to 4 volumes of Monographs of Association of social anthropologists of the Commonwealth, Tavistock publications.
Kluckhohn C. 1949.	Mirror for Man, McGraw Hill.
Mahapatra, L. K. 1960.	Address to Anthropological society of Assam published in Report on 5th Annual meeting, Gauhati.
Mead, M. & R. Metraux, 1953.	Study of culture at a Distance, Chicago.
Murdock, G. P. 1954.	" Sociology and Anthropology " in For a Science of Social Man(ed) John Gillin, Macmillan.
Redfield, R. 1953	" Relations of Anthropology to the Social Sciences and to the Humanities ", in Anthropology Today, (ed) A. L. Kroeber.
Steward, J. H. 1950.	Area Studies : Theory & Practice Social Science Research Council.

Note : 1. According to one Professor of Sociology in south India, social anthropologists have usurped the positions and opportunities of sociologists in India. No wonder, he does not count more than two or three (including himself) as " pure " sociologists in India. This view point also highlights the futility of duplication of departments and also the grave possibility of personal rancour and departmental animosities which were common recently among sociologists and anthropologists in India and abroad.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

LIFE ORGANIZATION OF SIDDHIS

by T. C. Palakshappa

Life organization of Siddhis can be understood with reference to three things :

(1) Settlement
(2) Natural environment.
(3) Agriculture.

They look to them with certain inner feeling which makes them identify with them. All the three of them are closely inter-linked to each other. We can understand their life only when we consider all these objects as one.

The life organization of Siddhis not only speaks of various aspects of their existence in that area but also speaks of their deep sense of feeling for the objects that lie around them. It may be the physical objects like the forest, river, etc., the social institutions like the family, kinship, the local communities, the religious objects like Gods and Goddesses, they have developed in them certain mental picture of these various objects. All the objects, whether they are physical, social, religious have equal importance in them. They try to identify them as one aspect impinging on their life. In their devotion, they do not make any kind of difference between one object and the other. The devotion to these objects springs from the inner-most depth of their heart. They are deeply obliged to these objects, because of the dependence of these people on the various objects for their sustenance. They provide them with stable basis of social-economic life in the area. Siddhis live in a settlement, surrounded by particular natural environment. The localities in which they live possess certain types of Gods and Goddesses which try to relate them to the given environment. Since they are closely related to these objects they have developed in them certain mental traits which provide them with the sense of feeling and satisfaction. They are deeply indebted to these objects. The various ceremonies and rituals are meant to reincarnate them within themselves and to re-affirm their faith in them. These various ceremonies and rituals are the ways of giving back to them what they have taken from them for their living. Moreover they are also the pledges to the future to keep up the same kind of relationship with them.

Siddhis are dedicated to agriculture. They have taken up agriculture as their way of life. They are in some areas owners of land and in other areas are the cultivating tenants or landless labourers. Whether it is their own land or the land of others they cultivate with the same kind of zeal and understanding. They feel homely and satisfied when they are in the fields. When they are in the fields they move here and there doing one or the other thing. The area in which they live is very difficult for cultivation. On the one hand the soil is very hard and on the other hand they are faced with the difficult natural environment. All around is forest which is full of wild animals. The area is full of ups and downs. With all these adversities they have developed certain kind of warm feeling for the environment. If any one asks the question as to why they live in the area with all the difficulties, they immediately retort saying as to what is wrong with this area ? They consider this area as heaven on earth. One of the reasons for the manifestation of this attitude in them is the long association with this area. Living in the area for a long time they have formed within themselves certain mental traits. The physical objects like the rivers, forest, the difficult terrain, the dangerous animals have deeply entered into their life. The terrain appears to be very difficult to an outsider. But to them it is quite normal. They move here and there quite freely, without feeling the difficulties of the terrain. The dangerous animals so long as they keep to their own track are not dangerous. They invest certain animals like snakes (Cobras), panthers with magical powers and try to appease them with ceremonies and rituals. The forest, river, and dangerous animals instead of arousing fear in them arouse a sense of gratitude for them. They feel deeply about the forests, rivers and streams. Forests which are full of trees, shrubs, animals, bamboos, provide them the necessities of life. To build the house, they look to the forest for material, fuel is got from the forest. Forest has animals which they consume after hunting. Moreover, it contains many fruits and other materials which they use. Because of their attachment and dependence on forest, they develop a sort of an affinity and deep sense of gratitude to the forest when they are in the midst of forest, instead of fear, it arouses satisfaction and contentment. That is why they never move to any other area even if they are offered better opportunities elsewhere in plains. They say that they are quite happy here and cannot lead life elsewhere. Since they are obliged to all these objects they clear their debt by offering " Poojas " and feeling gratified about them. They worship " Achakanneyaru " in the river and stream. Through this Goddess they appeal to rivers and streams for safety and well being.

Siddhis attach much importance to the various religious objects like Gods and Goddesses that are in the area. These Gods and Goddesses are not merely religious and contain certain

*A semi-tribal community in N. Kanara, Mysore State

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

amount of supernaturalism, but they are the objects of satisfaction and identification. The various Gods and Goddesses are helpful in approaching the natural objects. If they want any kind of favour from nature they appeal to these Gods and Goddesses and through them they get whatever they want. There are specific Gods and Goddesses of rain, river, fertility of the soil, warding of illness in the house, safety of the cattle, etc. In order to appease and to express their gratitude to them they worship Gods and Goddesses periodically and yearly. After the harvest, before they commence eating the new crop, they try to satisfy the Gods connected with fertility, the welfare of the cattle and so on. They cook the newly got corn and show it to the Gods and then eat. Every year after the harvest they give coconuts to "Huledevaru". The number of coconuts depends upon the number of cattle. If there is any thing wrong in observing this, it will spell disaster to the cattle. So long as the "Huledevaru" is kept satisfied, the cattle are safe. If there is any discontentment because of the non-observance or any short fall in the observances, the panther will eat the cattle by entering the cattle shed. "Ancestor worship" is another aspect of their belief system. The ancestors play an important role in the family. Even though the ancestors are dead, they have a definite status in the family. After the death the ancestors will be reincarnated into the family. They maintain constant communion with the ancestors. The ancestors are supposed to look after the welfare of the people in the house. If there is any calamity or some disaster in the family they immediately seek the help of the ancestors. If anyone in the family is ill, they pray to the ancestors for safety. If they want to go for hunting before they leave the house they seek the blessings of the ancestors both for their own safety and for the success of the game. During marriage before the bride and bridegroom enter the marriage pendal, both of them seek the help of the ancestors. For all the things that they get from the ancestors they are much obliged. They fulfil their obligations whenever occasion arises. They express their obligation and deep sense of gratitude to them either by giving coconuts or by making animal sacrifice. It all depends upon the situation for which they are called into action. If any one is seriously ill, if the ancestors are called into action, then they give a fowl as sacrifice to them. When they go out for hunting and if they are successful, the game will be put before the ancestors and cut. After it is cooked, it is shown to the ancestor and eaten.

Since Siddhis live in a particular area and make a living, they develop certain kind of affinity with the Gods and Goddesses in the area. They attend Jatras and Melas conducted in the area. Gokarna and Idgunji are the places they visit once in a year. Siddhis in their hearts of hearts feel that they have to visit Gokarna in their life time. If they cannot go in their life time, then they feel that at least after death the ashes should reach that place. That is one of the reasons why they have changed from the practice of burial to cremation.

Siddhis are surrounded by various groupings which provide them the stable basis of social and cultural life. They maintain cordial relationship with the members of the other communities. Some times they may have some discontentment with the other groups but in their actual relationship they do not express their discontentment. This sort of good feeling for the other communities perhaps springs out of the fact of sharing a common life. The various natural objects like rivers, forest, wild animals are not only hinderance to them but also to other people living in the area. Siddhis try to co-operate closely with the other communities in the area in whatever capacity that is possible to them. In observance of festivals like "Suggihabba" "Navarathri" etc., they follow the other communities some times and in some other time the other communities may follow them. During the observance of "Suggihabba" they join together with the other communities and move from place to place, singing and dancing. They not only visit the houses of their community in the area but also the houses of other communities.

They are related to the local landlords, sahukars in one way or another. Some times they may have their own land and cultivate it and sometimes they may work on the land of others. In both the cases the dependence on the local landlords, sahukars, like Havik Brahmins, Lingayats, Marathas etc., becomes inevitable. Siddhis, because of their ignorance and poverty are exploited by them. They are conscious of this exploitation. They speak out their difference with the landlords and the sahukars with the outsiders. With all these differences and discontentments they feel that they are obliged to them. They know fairly well that they contribute to their existence in the area. When there is no corn in the house they go to the landlord for help. When they are in need of money for occasions like marriage, initiation, they help them by lending money. If they need expert guidance on land, marriage, initiations, they go to them. Siddhis are highly obliged to them for all these things. They try to

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

serve in whatever capacity possible. The women folk of the house work in the landlord's house. The men take errands to other places, carry weights to other places. Of course they get money or corn for all these things but only peculiarity about all these things is their readiness to render services to them. If they have work in the landlord's house, they abstain from taking up other job, even if it is offered in a more lucrative way. They feel that it is not the work outside that matters to them but the work in the landlord's house and landlord in the long run is the provider. All through the year they get one or the other work in the landlord's house. After sowing paddy in the month of June and July, they go to work in the arcanut gardens.

Family and the kinship are the stable bases of life in the area. It is these things that provide them security and the sense of satisfaction. They attach much importance to family and kinship, certain important work will not be undertaken without the prior permission of the elders. During festivls all the lineage members are invited to the feast. Being the members of the same lineage group, they feel that it is their duty to invite them. Of course this feeling is mostly due to the blood, but apart from blood there is always that sense of moral obligation. They feel within themselves that they help them in their difficulty and when there is work on the land they invariably take the help of the lineage members.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL PROBLEMS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

TELIC THEORY OF CULTURE

by A. K. Sinha

Theory of culture presupposes scientific analysis of society as well as personality. Meta-scientific theory of culture can be constructed only through scientific analysis of social structure, and its multi-functional patterns. The various social systems and social institutions constitute the foundations of cultural patterns. Persons who constitute the termini of social units may be regarded as the fundamental entities of a cultural pattern. They constitute the cultural wealth of a social structure.

A provisional definition of society must be given here before an attempt is made to construct a theory of culture. This definition, however, must not be arbitrary. A definition of society must be based on valid constructs which are established through empirical confirmation. However, before a provisional definition of society is given for further scientific analysis and meta-scientific speculation it is necessary to state and criticise those definitions which are theoretically inadequate. Those definitions of society will be regarded as inadequate which fail to satisfy some of the most important criteria of scientific method. It will be, thus, shown through a process of elimination that there can be only one legitimate theory of society. There cannot be alternative theories of society in the same way as there cannot be alternative theories of physical and organic phenomena. If per chance there are alternative theories concerning a particular aspect of Nature they may be at best called 'doctrines' or 'models'.

Any theory whatsoever must be rooted in science, and it must have heuristic significance. It can never be constructed on purely *a priori* grounds. It is not just a systematised body of opinions of a particular doctrine. But, on the contrary, a theory is an interrelated system of valid constructs which gives us an insight into an aspect of Nature. It explains a phenomenon rationally and intelligibly. It is necessary, therefore, that a theory must satisfy the requirements of empirical tests in order to avoid *ad hoc* explanations. Hence, it is one of the chief aims of science to construct a theory. A theory, however, has also a philosophical aspect because the science from which it emerges has always some heuristic significance. In fact, a theory is the meeting point between science and philosophy.

In the light of the foregoing discussion some of the doctrines of social structure may be critically examined. These doctrines or interpretations of society may be broadly classified into three main types, viz., metaphysical, organismic, and functional standpoints.

Metaphysical doctrines of society.

Plato and Aristotle maintained that the existence of society was natural, but ethical society could be ushered into existence through the institution of a just government. Thomas Hobbes maintained that human society was in a highly disorganized state when people lived in a state of nature. But later through social contract organized society was ushered into existence. Locke and Rousseau also held the same view. Hegel maintained that the civil society was a phase in the process of the dialectical movement. T. H. Green maintained that society was spiritual in its nature, and that its members were eternal and timeless spirits; hence, there is harmony between individual good and social good. Josiah Royce maintained that society was an ethical order in which ethical individuals realized their moral ends. J. E. MaTaggart maintained that reality itself was a society of finite spirits. A. N. Whitehead explained society as a nexus. In his view, a nexus is a collection of actual entities. A special type of nexus is a society. A society is a nexus which has some form of order, and enormous complexity.[1] Charles Hartshorne has also maintained that reality was essentially social in its nature. In his view, the entire world may be regarded as society.

The metaphysical doctrines of society have no significance from the scientific point of view. The constructs which are used in these doctrines are not empirically tested. These doctrines are composed of meaningless sentences. None of these doctrines can claim the status of the theory of society.

Organismic doctrines of society.

Paul Lilienfeld, Alfred Foullee, Herbert Spencer, Ostwald Spengler, C. H. Cooley, and many others have defined society as living organism. According to them, the functions of society are similar to those of a living organism.

The interpretation of society from the organismic point of view is wrong. Society may be regarded as an organism only in a metaphorical sense, and not in a literal sense. The conception of society as an organism involves isomorphic thinking. The application of biological models for the descripion of societal processes is illegitimate. There are fundamental differences between

1. Whitehead, A. N., *Process and Reality*, p. 151.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

human society and living organisms. An organism has birth, growth, reproduction, recuperation, decay, and death. A society, on the other hand, does not have such organismic characteristics. The organismic metaphors which are used for the explanation of societal processes give merely pseudo-explanations which have no significance from the scientific point of view. The uselessness of organismic interpretation of society is now admitted by all social scientists.

Functional doctrines of society.

In the contemporary period a large number of social thinkers have defined society from the structural-functional point of view. E. E. Bergel has defined society as ' structured ' because it has distinguishable parts. In his view, the constellation of relatively stable parts of a society refers to social structure. The term ' social function ' refers to the various dynamic processes within a society. Social functions refer to the various adjustive activities of social units within the social structure. The social structure determines the various functions of the society. Emile Durkheim gave a systematic formulation of the logic for the study of society. He used the term ' function ' instead of the term ' purpose ' because society does not necessarily produce useful results.[2] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and B. Malinowski explained social phenomena from the functionalist point of view. Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton are the chief exponents of the functionalist interpretation of society. Parsons' framework of social doctrine gives prominance to the structural functional base. He gives almost identical definitions to the terms ' machanism ' and ' function '. In his view, the nature of a social system can be known through the analysis of social actions of individuals in a given social situation.[3] R. K. Merton has given greater emphasis on the functional interpretation of society. In his view, the functional analysis gives us knowledge of the social structure with its various components in interplay.

The interpretation of society from the structural-functional point of view is inadequate. The Functionalists in the field of sociology have been influenced by the technological concepts and methods. They very often make use of technological models for describing the structure and functions of a society. P. A. Sorokin has compared the various units of a social structure to the various parts of an automobile.[4] G. A. Lundberg has clearly pointed out that society is analogous to a physical system in which there is attraction and repulsion between its members.[5] R. K. Merton has used the expressions ' social network ', ' social mechanism ', and so on for the description of social phenomena. D. F. Aberle *et alia* have defined society as " a group of human beings sharing a self-sufficient system of action which is capable of existing longer than the life-span of an individual, the group being recruited at least in part by sexual reproduction of the members."[6]

The views of the functionalists suffers from the defect of isomorphic thinking. The error of the early social thinkers consisted in the fact that they defined society in organismic terms under the influence of the nineteenth century theory of organic evolution, and the fallacy of the contemporary sociologists consists in the fact that they have defined society in technological terms. The contemporary sociologists have failed to understand the fact that the concept of ' society ' is basically different from the concept of an ' automation '.

I have defined society from the teleological point of view in my *Social Philosophy (1962), Principles of Sociology (1963), and a Prolegomena to the Philosophical Foundations of Society (1965)*. I have maintained that the teleological interpretation of society alone can claim to be the legitimate theory of society. I have defined society as a systematic organization of teleological persons.[7] It is not an organism. It is not born; it does not reproduce itself; it does not completely perish. It is not a structural-functional mechanism. The error of the functionalists in sociological theory consisted in the fact that they tried to explain the nature of society from the behaviouristic point of view. They pictured human personality as a reacting mechanism which functions in response to the incoming environmental stimuli. This is the basic error of the contemporary behaviouristic psychologists. In my *World View through a reunion of Philosophy & Science (1959)* I have interpreted personality from the standpoint of creative teleology. The teleological principle, in my view, is the governing law of a personality which integrates and regulates the behaviour pattern of an individual.[8] Creative

2. Durkheim, E., *TheRules of SociologicalMethod*, p97
3. Parsons, T., *The Social system*, p. 5.
4. Sorokin, P. A., *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, p. 6.
5. Lundberg, G. A. *Foundations of Sociology*, p. 103.
6. Aberle, D. F., *et al*, ' The Functional Pre-requisites of a Society', *Ethics*, Vol. LX, 2, p. 101.
7. Sinha, A. K., *Outlines of Social Philosophy : Philosophical Foundations of Society*, p. 1.
8. Sinha, A. K., *A World-View Through a Reunion of Philosophy and Science*, p. 164.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

purpose constitutes the central theme of an individual's life. As a creative person he creates a creative field through the incessant creation of novel and original values. An individual, however, is not only creative, but also appreciative. He creates the field of appreciation when he is confronted with novel and original values. In fact, an individual is creative-appreciative. It is by virtue of his creative-appreciativeness that an individual is an integrated member of a society. There is continuity between individual and society due to the operation of the basic principles of creativity and appreciation. Individual-in-society is the concretized expression of the principle of creativity appreciation. Individual and society as the two distinct and polarized categories are illegitimate abstractions. Individual-in-society is the basic individuo-social reality as the inevitable expression of the laws of creativity and appreciation which operate via its multiple social termini.

From the standpoint of my social theory individuals are the termini of the various social units and institutions. Aspects of society are in the intervening spaces between individuals. The interstitial social aspects which subsist between individuals may be called " social bonds ". Social bonds interrelate and integrate the members of a society. The principles of creativity and appreciation produce the creative field and the appreciative field which intersect and complete the circuits between individual and society. The principle of creativity establishes the link between creative person and society via the field of creativity. The principle of appreciation, on the other hand, establishes link between individuals as aspects of society and the creative person as unique creator of values via the field of appreciation. Taken in this sense the locus of individual as well as society is at the same place. In other words, the loci of both individual and society are in the same creative appreciative persons. The loci of society subsisting in the creative-appreciative persons may be called " located society '.

Apart from the located society there is the ' projected society ' which subsists in the intervening space between individuals. The loci of projected society are in those regions where the fields of creativity and appreciation intersect and interfuse. Social purpose emerges through the fusion of the aspects of the projected society. Creative advance and cultural progress of a society are the expressions of social purpose. In other words, projected social nuclei play a very important role for social solidarity. Lasting social bonds are in the projected social nuclei. Projected social nuclei play a very dominent role in cultural progress.

From the standpoint of my teleological interpretation of society the cultural nuclei originate when there is intensification, extension, and qualitative richness of intersecting fields of creativity and appreciation. The diversity and the qualitative richness of cultural nuclei are determined by the nature of the intersecting fields of creativity and appreciation. Cultural nuclei are the expressions of social purpose. Social purpose steers society, and enhances its cultural progress. Cultural nuclei become numerous and qualitatively diverse with the creative advance of society.

Cultural nuclei are the products of the conflux of the fields of creativity and appreciation. After they come into existence through the conflux of the fields of creativity and appreciation, they acquire relative independence. Cultural nuclei may be called " transpersonal ' in the sense that they are objective and relatively independent. Transpersonal cultural nuclei tend to raise a society to higher and higher stages of cultural progress and refinement. There is cultural diversity in a society in which there is preponderance of cultural nuclei. There is cultural diversity only in a free and ' open society '. The possibility of cultural diversity is ruled out in a totalitarian and ' closed society '.

Culture is the excellence of a society. It is possible for almost all types of societies to have cultural nuclei which may be either few or large in number. In aboriginal and mediocre societies cultural nuclei are sparcely distributed throughout their respective populations. In a civilized society there is dense constellation of cultural nuclei. These cultural nuclei are formed when circuits are continuously being completed between creation and appreciation of values by creative-appreciative persons in the various walks of life. Cultural nuclei are formed through the integration of various sorts of values, such as intellectual, aesthetic, and ethical values.

Culture has been defined in different ways by various social thinkers. The various interpretations of culture are based on the different conceptions of society which may be breifly stated below :

Personalistic interpretation of culture.

J. S. Mackenzie maintained that culture is primarily an individual possession. Nevertheless, in

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

his view, cultural values may be shared by all persons of a society.[9] C. M. Case defined culture as the unique achievement of human personalities.[10]

The personalistic interpretation of culture is inadequate. It cannot explain the nature of transpersonal culture which is the expression of society as a whole, and the common possession of all the members of a society. The personalistic definition of culture is too narrow.

The Rag-bag or the Omnibus interpretation of Culture.

According to E. B. Tylor, culture includes experiences which are acquired by individuals as well as social groups in a society. It includes beliefs, knowledge, art, morals, customs, laws, and the patterns of behaviour and habits of individuals.[11] P. A. Sorokin has defined culture as the sumtotal of everything that is created and modified through the conscious or unconscious behaviour of two or more interacting individuals.[12] According to S. F. Nadel, culture refers to the totality in the 'dimension of action.'[13] R. T. LaPiere has maintained that culture is the totality of customs, traditions, institutions, and so on which are inherited by the members of a society from generation to generation.[14]

The rag-bag or the omnibus definitions of culture are too broad and vague. These definitions are so wide and vague that they fail to distinguish between the systems of traditions and culture. Most of such definitions lack exactness.

Evolutionary interpretation of culture.

According to Oswald Spengler, each culture is an organism.[15] In his view each culture has a beginning, a development, a full blossming, a decay, and a final collapse. The same phase of development and decay are distinguishable in a culture. According to W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, culture is subject to the principle of growth like all other phenomena of Nature.[16] R. M. MacIver holds that culture is almost identical with social change.

The evolutionary interpretation of culture is unsatisfactory. Culture is not an organism. It does not necessarily follow a deterministic pattern of development and decay. It cannot also be regarded as identical with social change. Social change is not necessarily culturally progressive in its nature.

Interpretation of culture as artificial creation.

J. B. Gittler maintains that culture is man-made. In his view, culture consists in the accumulated products of symbolization.[17] The artificial conditions of existence which are brought into existence by human beings may be called 'culture'.

There are certain elements of truth in the definition of culture as an artificial creation. However, artificial productions through advancement of technology and applied sciences do not necessarily represent the cultural refinement of a society. In a totalitarian or a police state there may be tremendous technological advance without corresponding development of culture. The ancilliary aspects of technological civilization do not necessarily refer to culture.

Teleological interpretation of culture.

I have maintained in *Prolegomena to the Philosophical Foundations of Society* that culture refers to the common orientation of a group of creative-appreciative persons towards creative ends. It refers to the conflux of creativity and appreciation of its creative-appreciative members. Creative-appreciative members of a society are responsible for the formation of a culture system. A cultural system refers to the living experiences and value-creations of creative-appreciative persons. The culture of a society is dead and stale, if it merely represents the system of norms created, by the earlier generations mediocre persons. There can be no culture in a society in the absence of creative purpose of at least some of its members. Every society has at least some members who are creative in some sense. Cultural nuclei are formed in society when creative persons by virtue of creativity raise 'psychic fields' of appreciation in the fellow-members of their society. Cultural nuclei are formed when the fields of creativity and appreciation intersect and interfuse. The extensiveness of culture depends upon the number

9. Mackenzie, J. S., *Outlines of Social Philosophy*, p. 238.
10. Case, C. M., 'Cuture as a Distinctive Human Trait', *The Americal Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, 1927, p. 920.
11. Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 3.
12. Sorokin P. A., *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. I, p. 3.
13. Nadel, S. F., *The Foundations of Social Anthropology*, p. 80.
14. LaPiere, R. T., *Sociology*, p. 68.
15. Spengler, O., *The Decline of the West*, Vol. II, p. 104.
16. Ogburn, W. F. and Nimkoff. M. F., *A Handbook of Sociology*, p. 518.
17. Gittler, J. B., *Social Dynamics*, p. 226.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

of its cultural nuclei. The subtlety and refinement of a culture depends upon the quality of cultural nuclei.

From the standpoint of my teleological theory of society, cultural nuclei are the expressions of projected society. They are the expressions of social purpose. On the social plane culture is the expression of the integration of cultural nuclei. It degenerates into tradition, if the constellation of cultural nuclei remain relatively stable. Living culture is dynamic. Cultural flux is identical with social progress. Cultural progress accelerates creative advance. There is diversity in the midst of harmony in a culturally progressing society. Creative advance is multidirectional in a culturally progressing society.

When we study the different phases in the development of culture down the ages we find that the concept of 'culture' has been changing from epoch to epoch. In the earliest stages of human history the emotive and the conative aspects were predominant in culture. During that period religious and ethical values formed the foundation of culture. In the next phase the cognitive aspect also formed the integral part of the emotive and the conative aspects of culture. During that period the intellectual and aesthetic values together with religious and ethical values formed the foundation of culture. Poetry, painting, literature, art, and the like were the main forms of cultural expressions. Romanticism formed one of the most important aspects of culture. In the third phase of social development the cognitive aspect of the highest order constitutes the basic aspect of culture. Metaphysical theories profoundly influenced the formation of the cultural values of a society. The materialistic philosophy profoundly influenced the formation of culture in the communist countries. Likewise the Idealistic metaphysics influenced the formation of culture in India. In the contemporary period metaphysical doctrines are in disrepute, and the futility of metaphysics has been recognized by Logical Positivists and the exponents of Scientific Philosophy. During recent times, particularly in the Western countries, science has become the foundation of culture. Scientific culture has dispelled superstitions and dogmas. It leaves no room for wishful thinking and frothy sentimentalism on the part of its members. It ensures precision and objectivity in the creative expressions of its members through emphasis on the 'maximincon principle', i.e., maximization of experimental varience, control of extraneous variables, and minimization of error varience.[18] Scientific foundation of culture has rationalizing effect on individuals.

There is acceleration of intellectual creativity by the creative persons of a society in which science constitutes the foundation of a cultural pattern. The members of such a society being trained in scientific method can very quickly grasp and appreciate the intellectual values. Scientific theories can be tested and verified empirically. Errors in scientific research can be easily detected through the built-in checks in the methodological procedures. A scientist does not accept any statement whatsoever as valid even though it may look fascinating and promising without empirical confirmation. He engages himself in rigorous research for the investigation of hypothetical propositions relating to the supposed relations between certain phenomena of Nature. He tests his hypotheses through empirical confirmation and relates them to Nature. Science has brought about a radical metamorphosis in his way of thinking. It has proclaimed the triumph of predictability, relative precision, and objectivity of the items of knowledge. It has tremendously helped in ushering into existence a new form of culture which is basically different from the ethico-religious, aesthetico-romantic, and metaphysico-mystical cultural patterns. In the new pattern of culture which is founded on the superstructure of science persons are emancipated from dogmas, superstitions, prejudices, and above all the self-deception of mysticism. The members of the newly emerging scientific culture have an unusually novel experience of intellectual freedom which was unknown hitherto for centuries. Science as the central theme of culture is the promise of the modern world.

In conclusion, I shall give a generalized formula of culture, which may be stated as follows :

$$C = f(ca)$$

That is, culture is the function of creativity of appreciation. This formula is superior to C. A. Ellwood's formula : $C = f(I)$ which indicates that culture is the function of intercommunication.[19] Finally, I may say that civilization is the excellence of a society in its physical aspect, and culture is the excellence of a society in its psychic aspect.

18. F. N. Kerlinger has coined this term in his book, *Foundations of Behabioural Research*, p. 280.

19. Ellwood, C. A., *Cultural Evolution*, p. 261.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

YOUTH CULTURE AND ITS STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS.

by N. B. Kashappagoudar

Adolescence is a bridge connecting childhood with adulthood. Childhood is spent almost wholly within the family and adulthood is guided by adult norms and demands of adult society. But the life of youth lies between these two well-defined phases of individual's life without any widely accepted set of social norms and goals. So youth lives in an adolescent world conceived by adolescents.

Edger Friedenberg says, "Adolescence is the period during which a young person learns who he is, and what he really feels. It is the time during which he differentiates himself from his culture, though on the culture's terms. It is the age at which by becoming a person in his own right, he becomes capable of deeply felt relationships to other individuals perceived clearly as such.[1] Similarly according to A. B. Hollingshead, "Adolescence is the period in the life of a person when the society in which he functions ceases to regard him (male or female) as a child and does not accord to him full adult status, roles and functions."[2]

The period of adolescence is a period of learning. Learning is not purely intellectual or physical, which could be guided by a mere curricula of the school, or acquiring certain facts. It is a period of increasing social participation, assuming roles very much different from the ones in the family. Moreover, it is a period in which, the charm dominates, both physical and mental energies are at their peak, and the role of adulthood is expected eagerly. But being an adolescent, he is barred from full social participation in the adult world. It is the period when the complete protection and security of family life gives place to a period of venture and experimentation.

To fulfill his aspirations, desires and demands, he finds out a way of life different from that of adult world. But this way of life is not completely, different from that of the adults. Some activities, i.e. only reprehensible activities, are concealed to escape the supervision and control of adults. So the concealment of certain aspects of their behaviour and activities is the distinct characteristic of youth life.

The problem before us, is, whether there can be a distinct youth culture—as a subculture within the context of a particular society. Or whether youth culture could be viewed as completely unrelated to adult culture. Some are of the opinion that the traits and aspects of youth culture are not readily explained by adult culture. Some do not agree with this view.

Coming to the problem, we shall see how far youth culture is distinct from adult culture. Adult culture has its own norms and it enforces conformity. According to E. A. Smith, "a basic characteristic of a culture is that it enforces the individual into conformity, so that most of its members think, act, and believe largely in accordance with its norms."[3] Similarly youth culture has its own norms and enforces conformity. Talcott Parsons states that "one of the most basic needs of members of youth culture is to be accepted and identified with given youth groups. This acceptance requires rigid patterning of behaviour."[4] Just as we see the compulsive conformity in adult culture, so also we see the rigorous conformity at the youth level. This rigorous conformity is maintained by setting its members apart in appearance and behaviour, i.e., clothing, hairstyles, use of cosmetics and wearing of ornaments are different at both the youth and adult levels. But the degree of conformity of youth varies from society to society. In a highly traditional society, youth conforms most as the roles are fixed by birth, and the range of choice is narrow. But this is not the case with a complex society like America as the range of choice is very wide. Further, in any society—whether complex or traditional—the degree of conformity of rural youth varies from that of urban youth. This is indicated in a case study of rural adolescents made by Robert C. Bealer and Fern K. Willitts.[5] According to them, when rural and urban dwellers are involved to the same degree in youth subculture, rural residents are more traditional in their values than urban dwellers. So, even in a complex society, the degree of conformity of rural youths varies from that of urban youths.

Just as adult culture has its own socializing institutions like family and school, so also youth culture is composed of a series of informal institutions which initiate youth into its distinctive norms and behaviour patterns. The most

1. Friedenberg, Edger. Quoted by Havighurst in "Dilemmas of youth In America Today" Ed by Maclver Pp 8-9
2. Hollingshead A. B., "Some Crucial Tasks Facing Youth: Problems of Adolescence, Peer Group and early Marriages" in "Dilemmas of Youth" Ed by Maclver P. 15.
3. Smith, B. A. "American Youth Cutlure". The Free Press of Glencoe. 1962. Pp. 9-10.
4. Talcott Parsons. Quoted by Smith. E. A. in "American Youth Cutlure" P. 10.
5. Bealer R. C. and Willits F. K., "Rural Youth: A case study in the Rebelliousness of Adolescents," in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol 338 Nov. 1962. P. 63.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

important influence in youth life is the family. The youth is included in the matrix of family organization with definitive attachments and relations to the members of family and kin-group. The family accords a definite status and position to the youth and his rights and duties are defined. But youth life is not completely accounted for by the family and kinship. The youth increasingly enters into a network of relations chracterising the community life. Thus he comes to accept a calling, whether in consonance with family calling or something different from it, and thus comes to be associated with the economic system of the community. His roles thus become increasingly differentiated. The way in which this increasing association of the youth with life organization of community comes to be viewed by the youth himself and by others, seem to be of considerable importance. The congruence and divergence of points of view may have ultimate relevance to the stresses and strains of youth life. The youth is involved in the most important institution i.e. clique, when there is a divergence of points of view. Clique brings strong affectional ties among its members as it is fundamentally a sentiment—binding group. As a body-guard, it protects the youth from adult authorities and sanctions by means of its weapons like opposition and evasion. According to Demerath, " cliques will, in fact, discipline youth who accept or practice disapproved adult norms."[6] So, involvement in the youth institutions clearly reveals the adolescents' thinking of themselves as belonging to a " we-group " as opposed to a " they-group " i.e. adult group.

Just as we see the distinct appearance and behaviour in both cultures, so also we see the distinct language at both the levels. Much of the terminology at the youth level is direct and strong which is not the case at the adult level. For, youths usually call their members by nicknames, or by their names or by using vulgar terms.

One essential characteristic of culture is continuity achieved through transmission over generations. Just as adult culture is transmitted from generation to generation through its institutions, so also youth culture institutions act as vehicles for the transmission of culture over younger generations. According to Hartshorne, " a good example of the transmission of youth culture is found in the school and campus communities, which provide an ideal frame for the passing on of youth norms from one age-grade to another."[7] For the survival of culture, it must have a technology. So both the cultures have their own technologies.

From the preceeding discussion, we come to know that both the cultures—adult and youth have their own norms, institutions, language, mode of transmission and lastly own technology. Youth culture satisfies all the basic characteristics of a culture. From the point of view of characteristics, we can easily say that there is a distinct youth culture.

Further, there are other evidences to show the independent existence of youth culture. When there is divergence of points of view in the family, the parent-youth conflict arises. The ardent desire of youth to be free from the family bondage is expressed by Peter Blos by stating that " one of the three major goals of adolescence is claimed to be " emancipation from family."[8] The parent-youth conflict may prepare a ground for the withdrawal of youth from adult culture. The degree of conflict or the withdrawal of youth is maximised where there is widespread parent-youth conflict. This is the case with complex societies. Especially where the aptitudes and interests of the youth do not gain their fulfilment through the pursuit of family trade or tradition, the conflict in the mind of youth is clearly manifest. Because youth claims acceptance and recognization and where these are denied to the youth, a problem situation is evident. When there is the conflict, youth may prefer to fall back upon peer group than on family of orientation. Adolescent's preference to fall back upon peer group will manifest the predominance of the working of " we-group " feeling.

Unemployed adolescents are most remote from adult culture. These unemployed youths may lead their life as dependents or they may join delinquent gangs. Unemployed youths are looked down upon by the adults. This lack of employment status may prepare a ground for deviant behaviour. Further, to satisfy material needs, youth withdraws socially rather than physically from the family of orientation. On such occasions, the norms of peer-group are superior to familial norms which may lead to the aggravation of parent-youth conflict.

According to E. A. Smith, " the widespread withdrawal of youth from the family, as well as adult institutions, is a clue to the possible existence of a relatively isolated and autonomous youth culture."[9] Further evidence of the isolation of

6. Demerath. Quoted by Smith E. A. in " American Youth Culture". P. 9.
7. Harshore. Quoted by Smith E. A. in " American Youth Culture " P. 17.
8. Blos Peter. Quoted by Davis K in " Adollescence and Social Structure " in the Annals of the American Academy of political and social science. Vol. 236. Nov.—1944. P. 13.
9. Smith E. A. " American Youth Culture ". P. 35.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

youth is found in the protective silence that envelope youth activities. Hollingshead calls this secrecy the "conspiracy of silence,"[10] of youth toward adults.

The different norms distinguishing both the cultures put directions to behave in different ways which serve to remove the members of both cultures from each other and communication may be blocked between them. By blocking communication, youth culture excludes all outsiders to safeguard itself from the dominant adult sanctions.

In terms of behaviour, A. B. Hollingshead defines adolescence by "the social roles a young person is expected to play, is allowed to play, is forced to play, or prohibited from playing because of his status in society."[11] This definition clearly brings out that youth has no autonomous power to play any role in society. There is a check on playing the social roles. In order to carry out the prohibited or disapproved behaviour, youths, naturally, develop the skill of concealing. Further, when conflict arises between two cultures, to avoid or to resolve the conflict, youths follow the method of deception and protective lying. There are many situations where deception is followed by youths in order to fulfill their disapproved or denied goals. For example, in school culture, when there is a conflict between teachers and pupils, pupils usually use the weapon of deception to ease the conflict. This powerful weapon of youth i.e., Deception, is learnt by observing the deception of adults in family, business etc. But deception is not a character trait of culture, but appears as a function of actual structures and situations. Similarly, Linton in his book, 'The Study of Man' states that "youth first learn the principle of secrecy from their parents, who withhold certain facts and teach them not to discuss sex."

Youths say they are not resenting adult authority. By assuming an attitude of outward conformity, youths violate them secretly.

Distinct characteristics of youth culture, parent-youth conflict or emancipation from family, withdrawal from adult culture, adoption of the principles of secrecy and deception-all these factors-clearly give support to the assumption that the adolescent subculture is distinct from the larger cultural context. But if we agree that there is a dinstinct youth subculture, one simple but important question arises: Can we expect a transmission of culture over generations, if the adolescents who are on the threshold of adulthood reject the very norms which they will soon be called upon to carry out? The answer is negative. The view of Kingsley Davis and Talcott Parsons that "youth culture is largely irresponsible, impulsive and anti-adult,"[12] cannot be accepted, since the very existence of the continuity of culture clearly wipes out the label put to the youth behaviour as rebellious behaviour. The notion of this rebellion is disproved by R. C. Bealer and F. K. Willits in their case study. They point out that "Rebellion against and rejection of traditional values and parental norms cannot be a characteristic feature of adolescence if the larger culture is to exhibit continuity from generation to generation."[13] So youth culture can not be viewed in isolation from adult culture as it can not exist as a sort of alternative to the established norms of culture as a whole. There is no water-tight compartment beween adolescent behaviour and adult behaviour. Prof. R. C. Bealer and K. F. Willits say that "many aspects of adolescent behaviour may differ from adult behaviour in surface content but, in reality, be consistent with adult patterns and be considered as preparation for them. Adolescents may be viewed as neiphytes in training for full membership in adult society."[14] So when the adolescent enters into adulthood, the parent-youth conflict, withdrawal from adult society, cease to exist.

The waywardness and irresponsibility of youth may be accepted without letting such waywardness to disturb the established orders. The presumption here would be that the waywardness of youth is only a passing phase and that it would eventually lead to conformity and full acceptance of established norms. In several situations involving youth, the corrective influence of adult leaders or men of importance may be felt. Jessie Bernard says in a word that "Teenage culture, even in its contrapuntal forms, is an adaption (Matza, Reiss) or prototype (Dansereau) or caricature (Bealer-Willits) of adult culture."[15]

10. Holingshead, A. B. Quoted by Smith E. A. in "American Youth Culture". P. 35

11. Hollingshead A. B. "Some crucial tasks Facing Youth; Problems of Adolescence, Peer Group and Early Marriage" in "Dilemmas of Youth: in America Today" Ed. by MacIver R. M; p. 15.

12. Davis K and Talcott Parsons. Quoted by Raiss. I. L. in "Sexual codes in Teen-Age Culture", in the Annals of American Academy of Political Social Science. Vol. 338 Nov. 1961 P. 59.

13. Bealer R. C. and Willits F. K. "Rural Youth: A case study in the Rebelliousness of Adolescents". in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 338. Nov. 1961. P. 69.

14. Bealer R. C. and Willits F. K. Ibid-P. 69.

15. Bernard Jessie. Foreword in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 338. Nov. 1961. P. viii.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CHAPTER VI

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

PEOPLE OF CHHAMB AND JAURIAN : A DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

by N. S. Gupta

Introductory Background

People of Chhamb and Jaurian are brave and fearless. They are firm in stand and determined in action. Neither the shelling of Pakistani heavy guns nor the straffing and bombing of Sabre jets and B 57 respectively could deter them from the process of evacuation. They could manage to escape in the midst of eighty pounders without significant loss of life. Except for eight out of one thousand and fourteen persons covered under this survey, almost every-body came with his friends and relatives. This miraculous escape is in itself a complete tale of heroism and valour but their determination and optimism are the added testimony to their unparallel courage and matchless conviction.

All these qualities encouraged me to undertake a systematic socio-economic study of these people ; because such observations will not only provide an up-to-date and authentic account of the pattern and working of rural economy but will also present the economic consequences of Pakistani invasion on the unfortunate people of Chhamb and Jaurian.

As pointed out in the caption of this treaties, the present study seeks to confine its limits only to one aspect—the demographic aspect of the entire complex of socio-economic structure. It will, therefore, include the analysis of family, the structure of the household and the status of the head of family in addition to the detailed study of age, sex and civil conditions.

Size of family

The analysis of families as given in Table 1 reveals that the people of Chhamb and Jaurian believe in a moderate and manageable size of family. They are not in favour of unwieldy and large families owing probably to the consequences of joint family system. Consequently the size is not more than six in case of more than 78 percent of the total population. Only 22% have an extended membership of either 7-9 or 10-12 . The break up of this 22% (as given in the following table) shows that the share of 7-9 is 17% whereas that of 10-12 is only 4.5%. This manifests a positive dislike for a size of more than 12 under any circumstance.

The table below shows that the people of Chhamb and Jaurian compare very favourably with the size of the urban household as estimated by the National Council of Applied Economic Research. It is really gratifying that their attitude towards the size and the structure of the household is as dynamic and positive as contained by people living in cities and towns. In certain spheres they are even more forward than their urban counterpart. For instance the size of 4-6 members forms only 40.3% in urban population whereas it increases to 52.5% in Chhamb and Jaurian. Moreover the remaining two sizes (7-9 and 10-12) account for 21.5% in Chhamb and Jaurian as compared to 25.9% in urban India. All this goes to prove their preference for a small and a manageable size of family.

Head and the Structure of the Household.

Though the age of the earner is not a conclusive proof of the economic needs of the household but its general impact in totality cannot in any way be under-estimated from demographic point of view. Unlike the joint family system it certainly provides clues to the economic needs of

*The above study is based on the Socio-economic survey of refugees from Chhamb and Jaurian undertaken by me at the time of Pakistani invasion. It covers 200 families of 1014 persons.

TABLE 1

SIZE OF FAMILY

Size	Chhamb and Jaurian		All India*
	No. of Families	Percentage	Percentage
1-3	52	26	33.8
4-6	105	52.5	40.3
7-9	34	17	22.0n
10-12	9	4.5	3.9
Over 12	Nil	Nil	Nil
Total ..	200	100	100

*NCAER : Urban Income and Saving p. 22. n 7-10.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

the household. Because the likes and dislikes, the tastes and habits and the attitudes and aspirations of the earner have an effective impact upon his small-sized family which are in turn determined to a large extent by the age and other external factors of the family.

Table 2 reveals that 79% of the households are headed by the age groups of 25—60 years. If the preceding age group of 20—24 is also included, the total will rise to more than 85%. In other words if the entire active earning age group (20—54) is taken into consideration, there appears to be no material deviation from the findings of the Survey of Households in urban India undertaken by the National Council of Applied Economic Research.[1] This can be verified from the following comparative table of the earners formulated on the basis of age, sex and civil conditions.

Dividing the earners according to civil conditions we find that the married males constitute the highest of 81%; the widowed and the unmarried (males) form only 7 and 5.5% respectively. (See table 2). Whereas the share of married and unmarried females is nil, it is as high as 6.5% for the widowed.

One of the interesting features of the people of Chhamb and Jaurian is that even persons below twenty are asked to head the household. Neither the tenderness of their age nor the inexperience of social organism could provide any protection to the teenagers. They have to make their way through the ordeal of social complexities. This does not mean they are all alone in this difficult journey of life and existence. Their elders provide guidance and their counterpart necessary strength to reduce the burden of household. Similarly the fair sex even in the age group of 15-19 is not found shirking from the heaviest responsibilities of family life or social behaviour. They have rubbed their shoulders equally well with their counterpart. Not less than one fifth out of the total of 2.5% are the females who head the household even at such a tender age which is more often reserved to enjoy life. On the contrary they have to pass the whole life in misery and agony because they acquire this status only at the death of their husbands.

The responsibility of the household at the earlier ages is probably more pronouncing in Chhamb and Jaurian than anywhere else in the country. Whereas people under 25 years head

1. NCAER'S percentage is 77 as against 71.5 calculated by me. Moreover, whereas a person of 25 years is enlisted as an active earner in urban areas, a person of less than 20 is supposed to assume full responsibility in the rural areas of Chhamb and Jaurian.

Table 2

Distribution of Earners Age, Sex, and Civil conditions

Age Group	Chhamb and Jaurian								Urban India[2]
	Married		Un-married		Widowed		Total	% (Total)	% (Total)
	M	F	M	F	M	F			
15-19 ..	2	..	2	..	..	1	5	2.5	6.1
20-24 ..	11	..	2	..	..	..	13	6.5	
25-29 ..	20	..	2	..	1	2	25	12.5	26.7
30-34 ..	14	..	..	..	..	1	15	7.5	
35-39 ..	28	..	..	..	2	2	32	16.0	28.9
40-44 ..	23	..	1	..	..	..	24	12.0	
45-49 ..	22	..	3	..	2	..	27	13.5	21.3
50-54 ..	6	..	1	..	3	1	11	5.5	
55-59 ..	18	..	..	..	2	4	24	12.0	11.8
60-64 ..	5	..	..	..	1	1	7	3.5	
65-69 ..	10	..	..	..	2	..	12	6.0	5.2
70 and Over ..	3	..	..	..	1	1	5	2.5	
Total ..	162	..	11	..	14	13	200	100.0	100.0
Percent ..	81		5.5		7	6.5	100	100.0	100.0

2. NCAER : Urban Income and Saving p. 25.

M Males.

F Females.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

9% of the total household in Chhamb and Jaurian, they are not more than 6.1% in the rest of urban India. (See table 2). What is peculiar in the earlier ages, is also striking in the advanced ages. For instance, as against 5.2% of urban India, people of Chhamb and Jaurian head 8.5% of the total household even at an advanced age of 65 and above. This position, however, reverses between the age groups of 25 to 34 years. People of these two age groups account for 20% in Chhamb and Jaurian in the face of over 26% in urban India. This is probably due to the smaller share of these two age groups in the entire population of the survey under study.

The structure of the household can be studied with the help of table 8. It reveals a wide range of direct and indirect blood relationship to establish the status of the household. While self (i. e. the Head of the Household) consisting of married, unmarried and widowed males and females constitute more than 19% of the total population the percentages of sons and daughters dominate the entire structure of human relationship. As compared to other relations like father and mother, the percentages of sons and daughters are 30 and 20 respectively. Why are sons more than daughters is a separate question which has been answered under the description of sex ratio. So far as the feeble percentage of fathers and mothers is concerned, it may be stated that most fathers head their families and most mothers are wives. Hence they are included under self and wives barring of course a few exceptions. Next to sons and daughters are wives. They form only 16 percent of the total population which corresponds practically to married males in entirety.

Since families are small they generally do not go beyond the limits of wife and minor children. Rarely father, mother, brother or sister form part of family what to talk of relations such as grand-sons and grand-daughters, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law etc. etc. It is only in 14.22% that dependents form part of the household. Even this percentage is further reduced to 6.44 if 7.78% consisting of widow mother (3.65%), unmarried sister (1.67%), and unmarried brother (2.46%) is set aside to find the percentage of joint family symptoms in Chhamb and Jaurian. Even if we take the percentage of joint family at 14.22 in Chhamb and Jaurian, it is as high as 40.9[3] in the urban population of the country. This is a remarkable feature of Chhamb and Jaurian.

Sex Ratio.

General sex ratio reveals an imbalance in the total population of Chhamb and Jaurian. Whereas males constitute 53% the females form only 47% of the entire population. The nature and composition of this imbalance can well be studied from the following table which depicts in detail the age-wise sex distribution.

The table below points out an imbalance of 122 per thousand of population in Chhamb and Jaurian. This confirms to the whole of the Jammu and Kashmir State as calculated by the census of 1961. It is however different to the all India sex ratio. Whereas there are 941 females for every 1000 males at all India level, there are only 878 females for every 1000 males of Chhamb and Jaurian.

3 NCAER : Urban Income and Saving p. 23.

TABLE 3[4]

Age-Wise Sex Distribution

(In Percentages)

S. No.	Age Group	Males	Females	Total
1	Upto 4	7.79	5.92	13.71
2	5-9	8.97	7.40	16.37
3	10-14	7.50	7.79	15.29
4	15-19	5.13	5.82	10.95
5	20-24	3.94	3.26	7.20
6	25-29	3.75	4.14	7.89
7	30-34	2.74	2.78	5.52
8	35-39	2.76	2.07	4.83
9	40-44	2.56	1.78	4.34
10	45-49	2.56	2.37	4.93
11	50-54	1.18	.30	1.48
12	55-59	2.06	1.28	3.34
13	60-64	.60	.40	1.00
14	65-69	1.28	.59	1.87
15	70 and over	.59	.69	1.28
	Total	53.41	46.59	100.00

4 Only Chhamb and Jaurian.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

A comparative study of age-wise sex distribution can profitably be made from the following table which has been constructed on the basis of the weighted percentages of Chhamb and Jaurian, the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the country as a whole :

TABLE 4.

Comparative Age-Wise Sex Distribution

(in percentages)

S. No.	Age Group	Chhamb & Jaurian		J. & K. State[5]		India[6]	
		Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	Upto 4 ..	14.62	12.66	14.08	15.63	16.3	16.8
2	5-9 ..	16.49	15.80	14.34	15.27	24.4	24.8
3	10-14 ..	14.08	16.66	11.08	10.96		
4	15-19 ..	9.63	12.45	8.96	8.93	18.4	18.5
5	20-24 ..	7.40	6.95	7.85	8.93		
6	25-29 ..	7.04	8.89	8.27	9.64	14.7	14.7
7	30-34 ..	4.81	6.33	7.59	7.61		
8	35-39 ..	5.18	4.44	6.64	5.87	11.1	10.4
9	40-44 ..	4.81	3.78	5.58	4.79		
10	45-49 ..	4.81	5.04	3.95	3.11	7.8	7.2
11	50-54 ..	2.22	.63	3.91	3.06		
12	55-59 ..	4.28	2.69	1.95	1.32	4.6	4.5
13	60-64 ..	1.11	.84	2.64	2.10		
14	65-69 ..	2.41	1.26	.84	.60	2.7	3.1
15	70 and above & unrecorded.[7]	1.11	1.48	2.32	2.16		
	Total ..	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

5. Calculated from the figures of Census of India 1961, Vol. VI Jammu & Kashmir Part II-C Cultural and Migration Tables.
6. Eastern Economist : India's Progress since Independence—A Statistical Bird's-eye view p. 2.
7. Applicable only to Jammu & Kashmir State figures.

Tables 3 and 4 may be read together for the sake of observations. Table 3 in addition to pointing out an imbalance of 122 per thousand, brings a set of cyclical order for interesting analysis. On comparing the age composition of males and females it may be noted that this order starts with males supremacy which is then followed by its recession in the second order ; the third in sequence begins again with males overtopping which succumbs ultimately to its counterpart in the final. Describing this whole cycle of ups and downs in terms of age groups it may be stated that the first phase lies between the first and the second age groups ; the second between the third and the seventh ; the third between the eighth and the fourteenth and the fourth embraces lastly the fifteenth age group. In other words the first and the third phases are predominated by males whereas the second and the fourth by the females.

The composition and the operation of this cycle is, however, different in case of Jammu & Kashmir States. According to table 4 the cycle of ups and downs constituting four phases lies in these age groups : I and II ; III and IV ; V and VII ; and lastly between VIII and XIV. Speaking comparatively, the first and the third phases are dominated by females and the second and fourth by the males. This cycle is, therefore, quite contrary to the one obtainable in Chhamb and Jaurian.

Contrary to the State and Chhamb and Jaurian the behaviour of all India cycle is rythemic and stable in operation. Starting with the affluence of females, it equalises with males in the fourth age group ; the fifth emerging as the jumping base for males supremacy loses ultimately to its counterpart in the eighth and final.

Table 4 in addition to depicting the nature of imbalance in Chhamb and Jaurian, the State of Jammu & Kashmir and the country as a whole, brings also the density of sex distribution to light for interesting analysis. On comparing the sex distribution of Chhamb and Jaurian with the State on one hand and the country as a whole on the other, we get an entirely opposite picture in the different age groups. Whereas the first two age groups in Chhamb and Jaurian have a majority of male children, they are dominated by females at the State and all India levels. Similarly Chhamb and Jaurian differ with the State in the succeeding three age groups between 10 to 24 years. Out of these three groups, the two (10-14 and 15-19) of adoloscents are marked differently by the upswing and downswing of

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

males in State and Chhamb and Jaurian. This situation further reverses in the fifth age group in both the places. As compared to a cyclic up and down at both the places, there is a stable trend of female supremacy at the all India level upto the age group of 20-24. This supremacy decelerating with the advancement in age becomes zero in the age group of 25-34.

The age groups between 35 to 44 are very significant from the all India point of view because it is between these age groups lie the maximum of males as compared to female population. This affluence recedes to one seventh by the age group ending 64 which is ultimately conceded to the females in the final. Analytically, the position of the State in General and Chhamb and Jaurian in particular also tally with the country to a very great extent after the age group of 30-34 with the exception of the limping tendency of the population distribution.

This discussion of sex ratio raises a very valid question: why is this sex imbalance in Chhamb and Jaurian? What are the proximate causes of this social problem? They are probably not different to what are applicable to the country in general and the State in particular. Unlike the State and the country the imbalance in the first two age groups in Chhamb and Jaurian may partly be owing to natural phenomenon and partly due to general apathy towards the female sex. It is probably the latter factor which weighs heavily upon the mortality among the infants. Though mortality may not directly be imputed for infanticide but its relationship with indifference to female sex cannot in any way be eliminated. Because a thorough care is a *sine qua none* for the delicate infant. Slightest indifference what to talk of wanton carelessness may endanger the life of the children. Probably the concept of liability attached to female folk is the crux of this social evil. So long this backward thinking is not casted in the mould of rational ideal of human equality this menace of imbalance will continue *ad infinitum*.

This problem of imbalance get further accentuated due to death of women specially of reproductive age. Generally ill-health, malnutrition, family worries and female diseases are the proximate causes of female mortality. As an Indian housewife she first looks after the health of her husband then of children and lastly of herself. She will neither eat nor clothe properly for the sake of her husband and children. She is probably more worried about the economy of the field and the household. All these constraints act adversely upon her health and happiness which shorten her span of life.

Female mortality may only be averted through medico-economic measures. They can only be ensured happier and longer life if they are provided proper nourishment and requisite medical care. In addition to economic uplift and proper medical care there should also be a complete transformation in the mental outlook of the people towards the female child. Unless this is done no amount of economic uplift or medical care can solve the problem of balance in the two sex.

TABLE 5

Age-Wise Population Distribution

(In Percentage)

S. No.	Age Group	J. & K. State[8]	Chhamb & Jaurian	All India[9]
1	Upto 4	14.80	13.71	16.5
2	5-9	14.77	16.38	24.6
3	10-14	11.04	15.29	
4	15-19	8.96	11.11	18.5
5	20-24	8.37	7.19	
6	25-29	8.90	7.89	14.7
7	30-34	7.61	5.42	
8	35-39	6.29	4.82	10.7
9	40-44	5.22	4.34	
10	45-49	3.54	4.93	7.5
11	50-54	3.48	1.48	
12	55-59	1.66	3.32	4.5
13	60-64	2.39	.99	
14	65-69	.74	1.85	2.9
15	70 & Over	2.23	1.28	
	Total ..	100.0	100.00	100.00

8. Calculated from the figures of Census of India 1961, Vo. VI Jammu & Kashmir Part II-C, Cultural and Migration Tables.

9. Eastern Economist : India's Progress since Independence—A Statistical Bird's-eye view May 1966 p. 2.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Age Composition

Tables 3 and 4 give a vivid picture of age composition and sex distribution. Table 5 as given below has been constructed to give a combined and compact picture of population distribution to make a comparative analysis of age composition.

It may be noted from the above table that more than 45% of the total population consists of children upto 14 years of age; out of this, children of 5-9 years constitute the maximum of 16% which is the highest of all the age groups in Chhamb and Jaurian. If the next age group is also added to the other three groups (upto 4, 5-9 and 10-14) the summation will rise from 45 to over 56% of the total population. This means that about 57% are minor and 53% are major for practical considerations in Chhamb and Jaurian.

Breaking the minors and majors into children (upto 14 years) the youths (15-39), the middle-aged (40-54) and the old (55 and beyond), their respective percentages have been calculated at 45.38, 36.42, 10.75 and 7.44 in Chhamb and Jaurian. This distribution may, however, be compared with the help of the table 6 to make purposeful observations:

40.61 children which shows probably the highest rate of survival. This is even higher in comparison to the rate prevalent at the all-India level. At the all-India level only 38.5 become youth out of every 41.1 children. This shows that the expectation of life is highest at the State level in comparison to Chhamb and Jaurian and the country as a whole. The higher infantile mortality in Chhamb and Jaurian is probably owing to medico-economic and psycho-natural reasons as already pointed out somewhere in this small treatise.

So far as the youths and the middle-aged are concerned there appears to be no material difference in the size of their composition at all the three levels of Chhamb and Jaurian, the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the country as a whole. Comparatively speaking the size of the middle aged is much less than the youths at all the levels as pointed out in tabel 6. Out of every 100 youth, 69 die in Chhamb and Jaurian, 70 in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and 67 in the country as a whole by the time they become middle-aged. Hence the survival rate among the youths is only 31%, 30% and 33% respectively in Chhamb and Jaurian, the State of Jammu and Kashmir and India as a whole. The survival rate among the middle aged is more

TABLE 6.

Comparative Population Composition[10]

Description	Age Group	Chhamb & Jaurian	J. & K. State[11]	India[12]
Children	.. Upto 14 Yrs. ..	45.38	40.61	41.2
Youths	.. 15-39 ..	36.43	40.13	38.5
Middle-aged	.. 40-54 ..	10.75	12.24	12.9
Old	.. 55 & above ..	7.44	7.02	7.4
	Total ..	100.00	100.00	100.00

10. Figures are the weighted percentages.
11. Calculated from the figures of Census of India 1961 Vol. IV, Jammu & Kashmir.
12. Calculated on the basis of figures published in Eastern Economist's India's Progress since independence—A Statistical Bird's-eye view May 1966 p. 2.

As against the heavier density of more than 45% upto the age of 14, it is not more than 41% at the State and the country level in comparison to Chhamb and Jaurian. This situation reverses in respect of youths and the middle-aged. There is however no difference so far as the old are concerned.

The table 6 further reveals that out of every 45 children only 36 become youth in Chhamb and Jaurian. On the contrary at the State level 40.13 become youth out of every

than 65% at all the three places. Consequently the size of old is uniform in Chhamb and Jaurian, the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the country as a whole.

Civil conditions :

The conspectus of civil conditions as given in the following table classifies the total population under three heads: the married, the unmarried and the widowed separately among the males and the females. Married constitute 38% while

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

the unmarried form more than 54% of the total population of Chhamb and Jaurian. The widowed on the other hand are not more than 6.91%.

Jaurian. As against 4 widows there is only one widower. This disparity is much less at the State level : as against 3 widows there are atleast 2 widowers.

TABLE 7

Distribution of Population According to Civil Conditions

Description	Chhamb & Jaurian			J. & K. State		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Married ..	19.13	19.23	38.36	21.59	22.23	43.82
Unmarried ..	31.66	23.07	54.73	28.50	20.64	49.14
Widowed ..	1.98	4.93	6.91	2.61	3.73	6.34
Others ..	....	....	....	.39	.31	.70
Total ..	52.77	47.23	100.00	53.09	46.91	100.00

The above table reveals that married males are more than married females in Chhamb and Jaurian. The position is vice versa so far as unmarrieds are concerned. Males under this category are 31.66 per cent as compared to 23.07 per cent of females. The reason is quite obvious. Females get married earlier to males to leave the latter behind in the race of marriage. The widowed on the other hand are marked by a glaring disparity. Whereas the males are 1.98 per cent the females are as high as 4.93 per cent. This imbalance of little less than 300% is owing probably to the higher mortality among males of advanced age.

The civil conditions of the State as a whole as given in table 7 though confirm to the general trend of their composition but differ in details with Chhamb and Jaurian. For instance marrieds in Chhamb and Jaurian form only 38.36% as against 43.82% of the entire population of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This is different in case of unmarrieds. As against 55% of Chhamb and Jaurian they are not more than 49% in the entire State. This shows that the people in general in the State have greater propensity to marry as compared to the people of Chhamb and Jaurian. The reason is evident from Table 6, which shows greater density of population among youths at the State level as compared to Chhamb and Jaurian. In other words people of marriageable age are less in Chhamb and Jaurian than in the State as a whole.

There is, however, no other significant observation with regard to the comparative conspectus of civil conditions except the composition of widowed in both the places. Table 7 reveals a wide disparity among widowed of Chhamb and

If civil conditions are studied in relation to sex and the seqquence of relationship, the whole picture may be summarised as follows: (See table 8 on the next page).

Table 8 provides the break up of table 7. Married males (19.13%) consists of self (15.97%), sons (2.95%) and brothers (.21%). The analysis of married females reveal that the majority of 15.97% are the wives of the head of family and the remaining 3.26% are daughter-in-law (2.76%) sister-in-law (.30%) and sisters (.20%). The relatives other than wives under this category raise a point of doubt : why are married women living separately from their husbands ? They are neither widows nor are categorised as separated. The answer is that they were probably living with the head of the household at the time of survey. Neither the earner nor the investigator could detect that they are not the constitutents of his family. In certain cases there may be possibility of separation from their families as a result of Pakistani invasion.

The break up of un-married males reveals the dominance of sons over the whole conspectus of relationship. They account for 26.73% out of the total of 31.66%. Other relations are negligible ; brothers and grandsons are 1.09 and 2.46 percent respectively.

The position of unmarried females is not different to the unmarried males. Out of the total of 23.07%, 20.32% goes to daughters' account and the balance to grand-daughters and other relatives.

The above discussion of relationship substantiates the thesis that the size of family in

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

TABLE No. 8

Distribution of Population according to Sex, Civil Conditions and Relationship (Chhamb & Jaurian)

Relationship	Males						Females						Total	
	Married		Unmarried		Widowed		Married		Unmarried		Widowed			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Self ..	162	15.97	11	1.09	14	1.38					13	1.28	200	19.72
Wife ..							162	15.97					162	15.97
Son ..	30	2.95	271	26.73	2	.20							303	29.88
Daughter ..									206	20.32			206	20.32
Father ..					2	.20							2	.20
Mother ..											37	3.65	37	3.65
Brother ..	2	.21	25	2.46									27	2.67
Sister ..							2	.20	17	1.67			19	1.87
Daughter-in-law ..							28	2.76					28	2.76
Grandson ..			14	1.38									14	1.38
Grand-daughter ..									10	.99			10	.99
Sister-in-law ..							3	.30					3	.30
Others ..					2	.20			1	.09			3	.29
Total ..	194	19.13	321	31.66	20	1.98	195	19.23	234	23.07	50	4.93	1014	100.00

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Chhamb and Jaurian remains small not beyond the limits of wife and minor children in greater measure.

Epilogue

In conclusion, it may be stated that the people of Chhamb and Jaurian are not different from the other people in the country. They possess some of the common demographic characteristics such as the imbalance in sex ratio and the sporadic variation in the age composition. Nevertheless, there are a few uncommon features which make the people of Chhamb and Jaurian quite conspicuous for demographic study. One of them is the positive dislike for joint family system. Whereas 40.9%[13] of the entire household structure is dominated by the joint family system at the country level, it is marked by its practical obliviscence among the people of Chhamb and Jaurian. The structure of the household remains within the confines of narrower relationship.[14] Rarely it crosses the limits of wife and minor children. This novel feature brings to them almost all the advantages of a small and manageable family in addition to keeping the melancholy and disharmony of big and joint family at a distance.

Another striking feature is the age of the family head. In fairly large number of cases even teenagers (both males and females) are asked to head the household which is an uncommon practice in the rest of the country.[15] This goes to prove their liking in favour of decentralising the structure of the household so that people may be prepared for taking independent decision from the very beginning.

On the whole, the people of Chhamb and Jaurian are hard working and painstaking. The temporary displacement resulting from Pakistani invasion will not come in their way of progress and prosperity. They will continue to go ahead with their rehabilitation and development with the help and co-operation from the people and the Government.

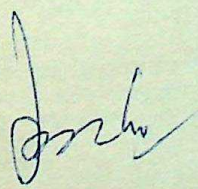
13 NCAER : Urban Income and Saving 1962 p. 23.

14 As per table 8.

15 As per Table 2.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu



CHAPTER VII

PROBLEMS OF FAMILY PLANNING

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

ATTITUDE OF WOMEN TOWARD FAMILY PLANNING: A STUDY IN DIFFERENCES BY FAMILY TYPE IN SIX VILLAGES OF DELHI

by Prafulla C. Bebarta

The present paper attempts to utilize family as unit of analysis in examining the attitude of wives representing the joint and nuclear house-holds. The main objective of the paper is to highlight the difference in the attitude of women belonging to two family types with reference to desirability for additional number of children, and willingness to learn family planning. The paper also seeks to explore the level of awareness and knowledge of family planning in the two family types.

Family as Unit of Analysis

Family provides the arena of social interaction which acts as feasible medium in fermenting the motivational and attitudinal ingredients of human behaviour. The magnitude of social interaction is dependant on the pattern of intra-family relationship. Therefore, any structural variation in different types of family would result in difference in social interaction. As social interaction is fundamental to planning and decision making, variation in family structure may result in difference in attitude and motivation.

In a nuclear family in India, the core of relationship extends primarily between husband and wife; while in a joint family it is ramified. The husband and wife are the major actors in family planning and action in nuclear family, but in a joint family the planning and action are dependant on cumulative action of the relevant members who enter into the realm of planning and decision making task. For example, a joint family with lineal and collateral kins, having two or more married couples, the social interaction operates on a triangular relationship i.e., the relationship that extends between the spouses within a couple, between spouses, between couples; and the daughters-in-law and the mother-in-law, traditionally the latter having the authoritative role. Therefore, in such cases, the planning and decision making are determined by cumulative act generated from this tripod of social interaction. In such situation the action suffers from time lag and make the members less amenable to change.

It is needless to emphasise here the importance of family as unit of observation and analysis for demographic studies of human fertility in India. But the omission of family in studying the fertility behaviour of women represents a serious lacuna in family planning research of India. An admirable number of studies have been carried out in India pertaining to fertility and family planning.[1] These studies nevertheless portray the reproductive motivation and attitude in a wider perspective, but the implication of the findings limps badly in envisaging a successful family planning programme. This is because, these studies laid greater emphasis on individual traits and characteristics thereby treating the individual behaviour as separable entity of social structure.

The data on which the present paper is based was collected without any social—psychological approach in mind. It was a simple survey where information was collected by a structured schedule on various aspects of attitude toward family planning. Therefore, the analysis which has been attempted here with all its limitations presupposes family as an interactive unit in examining the attitude differences by family types.

The family was classified into joint and nuclear family types based on the composition of the members and the matrix of their relationship as found in the households. Thus these two types of family exhibit variation in the patterns of relationship. As the pattern of relationship, represents the appendages of social interaction it can be anticipated that variation in the intra-family relationships in the two types of family may result in difference in status and role, inter-status relation and role differentiation, perception and communication; which have greater impact in shaping the reproductive motivation and attitude towards family planning.

The interactive theory cannot fully unfold the intricacies of human reproductive behaviour particularly in such societies like India where institutional factors impels higher fertility and set the configuration of reproductive attitude and motivation. In this context the structural-functional approach no-doubt offers a better tool in studying the social structure of reproduction but to my mind the blending of the two approaches skillfully will cater better for a com-

I am greatly indebted to Dr. S. N. Agarwala, Head of the Demographic Section of the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, and to Prof. P. N. Dhar, Director of the Institute for providing me with facilities to utilize the data collected in the Demographic Survey of Six Villages at Delhi for the present analysis.

1. Bebarta, Prafulla C., "Recent Studies in Fertility", *Sociological Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 2*, 1961, pp.27-41; "Studies in India" in Kiser, Clyde V (ed): *Research in, Family Planning*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1962, pp. 3-81.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

prehensive and analytical appraisal of reproductive behaviour in Indian society.[2]

As the data on which the present paper is based does not permit to go deep into the problem at hand, the paper, therefore, is intended to create interest in this line of research.

Data for the Present Study

The present analysis is based on data collected during a family planning attitude survey carried out by the Demographic Unit of the Institute of Economic Growth during the period November 1958 to March 1961 in six selected villages of Delhi namely, Barwala, Bapraula, Begumpur, Khanpur, Mukhmelpur and Zindpur. A small report has already been published by this Institute in 1962, carrying the findings of the survey where it was attempted to highlight the level of awareness of family planning, the knowledge and practice of the methods, willingness to learn family planning, attitude towards desired family size, ideal family size, attitude towards spacing, reasons for not desirous of additional children and reasons for unwilling to learn family planning. And the analysis was made mostly for the women of only five villages with respect to age, caste, occupation of husband and number of living children.[3] The present paper, therefore, attempts to tread into a different dimension of the attitude of women of all six villages with an aim to seek for difference if any with regards to family types. As mentioned elsewhere, the attitude variables selected for the present analysis are two—namely the desire or no desire for additional number of children and the willingness to learn family planning. And these variables were examined in relation to number of living children, number of living male children, and the level of awareness and knowledge of family planning methods.

The study includes those currently married women of 15-44 age group from whom information was available on the level of awareness of family planning, additional number of children desired, and willingness to learn family planning. They numbered 729 out of 779[4] women who were interviewed on different aspects of family planning in the six villages.

The family types were classified into two categories namely nuclear and joint family based on the household[5] composition of the members and the matrix of relationships existed in them. The nuclear family includes those households consisting of a married couple with or without unmarried children ;[6] and the joint family type includes those households consisting of two or more completed or truncated nuclear families united lineally by father-son bond ; and/or collaterally by the sibling bond ; and/or a relative through female line, or any other distant relative. The classification is structural, functional factors like co-residence, joint property rights are not involved. Out of total 944 households enumerated in the six villages during the survey, 429 belonged to nuclear family type ; and 462 to joint family type ; and the rest 53 were single member households. Of the total 729 women aged 15-44 who were included for the present study, 291 of them belonged to the nuclear family and 438 to joint family type.

2. Two useful studies carried out on these lines of approach created new horizon in family planning research. One was conducted in Puerto Rico (vide : Hill, Reuben ; J. M. Stycos and Kurt W. Back : *The Family and Population Control,* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959) ; and the other in Jamaica (vide : Black, Judith: *Family Structure : The Social Context of Reproduction;* The Free Press of Glenoe, Inc., New York, 1961)

3. Institute of Economic Growth : *Family Planning in Selected Villages,* Occasional paper No. 6, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962.

4. The rest 50 women who were eliminated from the analysis because of following reasons :

Reasons for excluding the women	Joint family type	Nuclear family type	Total
1. Aged 45	16	....	16
2. Menopause	7	5	12
3. Salpingetomy	1	....	1
4. Refused to respond	6	1	7
5. Indifference to questions	9	5	14
Total ..	39	11	50

5. A household as defined for the survey consists of a group of persons who are related and are living together and taking food from a common kitchen (vide : Agarawala S. N. : *A Demographic Study of Six Urbanising Villages,* Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi-7, 1964, P. III.1, Mimeographed.

6. There were 8 nuclear households with some other unmarried persons related through wife which were included in nuclear family.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

The Women Studied

Tables 1 and 2 give the distribution of women in joint and nuclear family types with regard to their age, number of living children and number of male living children. No doubt, age plays an important role in affecting the attitude of women with regards to their desire for additinal children more than half of the women in joint family were concentrated in the age 15-24, while in nuclear family a similar feature was encountered in the age 25-34. It is not unlikely that this differential age distribution of women might contribute to variation in attitude by family types, as variables like number of living children, and number of living male children are function of age.[7]

TABLE 1.

Women by age and Number of Living Childern

No. of living children	Joint family			No. of women	Nuclear family			No. of women
	Age Group				Age Group			
	15-25	25-34	35-44		15-24	25-34	35-44	
0 — 2 ..	194 (79.18)	42 (17.28)	9 (3.71)	245 (55.9)	49 (54.44)	33 (36.67)	8 (8.89)	90 (30.9)
3 — 4 ..	27 (25.97)	58 (55.76)	19 (18.77)	104 (23.7)	14 (11.67)	80 (66.67)	26 (21.16)	120 (41.24)
5 + ..	4 (4.49)	33 (37.08)	52 (58.43)	89 (20.4)	1 (1.24)	36 (44.44)	44 (54.32)	81 (27.83)
No. of women ..	225 (51.37)	133 (30.37)	80 (18.26)	438 (100)	64 (21.99)	149 (51.20)	78 (26.81)	291 (100)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

TABLE 2.

Women by age and Number of Living Male Children

No. of living children	Joint Family			No. of women	Nuclear Family			No. of women
	Age Group				Age Group			
	15-24	25-34	35-44		15-24	25-34	35-44	
0 ..	109 (80.15)	20 (14.71)	7 (5.14)	136 (31.05)	25 (48.08)	20 (38.46)	7 (13.46)	52 (17.87)
1 ..	83 (63.36)	42 (32.06)	6 (4.58)	131 (29.91)	28 (34.57)	39 (48.15)	14 (17.28)	81 (27.84)
2 ..	26 (28.57)	36 (41.76)	27 (29.67)	91 (20.78)	10 (12.99)	44 (57.14)	23 (29.87)	77 (26.46)
3 & 4 + ..	7 (8.75)	33 (41.25)	40 (50.00)	80 (18.26)	1 (1.23)	46 (56.79)	34 (41.98)	81 (46.04)
No. of women ..	225	131	80	438	64	149	78	291

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

or willingness to learn family planning; but fact ors like number of living children and number of living male children are more pivotal in affecting attitude and motivation. Therefore, variation in attitude will greatly be influenced by these variables than simply age. And difference if any due to age cannot be explained unless the variables like number of living children, and living male children are controlled.

An examination of age distribution of women in the two types of family indicates that a little

7. It is not uncommon to encounter with such difference in age distribution of women living in joint and nuclear family types. It is also likely that the concentration of women in joint family will be more in the young and older age groups, while in nuclear family it will be in the middle age group. The reason may be attributed to the emergence of nuclear families at a later stage from the mainstream of joint family. And these nuclear families represent a transitory phase as subsequently a majority of them develop into joint family at one point or other during their development cycle ; Kapadia, K. M. : *Marriage and Family in India;* Oxford University Press, 1955, p. 251. Desai, I. P. : *Some Aspects of the Family in Mahuva : A Sociological Survey of Jointness in a Small Town* : Asia Publishing House, 1964, pp. 45-47.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

A close observation of the distribution of the women by age and with regard to the number of living children and number of living male children in the two family types magnifies the differences on a greater plane. Not only a larger percentage of women in joint family type belong to the age group 15-24, but a greater bulk of them also figured high in having number of living children. But the trend is reverse with regard to other two age groups.

With regard to the number of living male children in joint and nuclear family types, interestingly enough 31 per cent of total women of joint family had no male living children as against 17.9 per cent in nuclear family. This difference is quite noteworthy. And with one living male children the women in joint family figure higher than nuclear family. But otherwise, it is striking to note that the frequency of women with two and more number of living male children rates higher in nuclear family than joint family.

As age, number of living children, and number of living male children are the factors affecting the attitude structure ; the distribution of women of nuclear family with regard to these variables exhibits a favourable pattern thereby affecting the comparability of the findings by family types. Unless the influence of these variables are eliminated while comparing the family types, the difference if any encountered in the attitude of women can not be attributed solely to the difference in family types. The present analysis, therefore, takes this important fact into consideration and the distribution of women of joint and nuclear family type were standardised against the total distribution with regard to the two intervening variables like number of living children and number of living male children and the total standardised rates were calculated.

Desirability for Additional Number of Children

The attitude of women with regard to their desire for additional number of children were examined against number of living children and living male children in the tables 3 and 4. It is striking to note that while a majority of women staying in nuclear family expressed their no desire for additional children, a less number of them staying in joint family have expressed this desire. The intensity of desire for more additional number of children was very high for both the women of joint and nuclear family with number of children 0-2. And larger number of women with three or more children in nuclear family expressed their no desire for additional children.

Based on the number of surviving male children it is observed from the table 4 that the sift for no desire for additional children starts with one surviving male children for the women living in nuclear family. The sift becomes more pronounced in the case of women with 2 male surviving children. In the case of women staying in joint family the desire for more children looms high with one male surviving children ; and this desire drops though not prominently for the women with 2 male surviving children. An overwhelming majority of women with 3 or more surviving male children expressed no desire for additional number of children in both nuclear and joint family.

TABLE 3

Women by Number of Living Children and Desire or No Desire for Additional Children

No. of living children	Joint Family		No. of women	Nuclear Family		No. of women
	Desire more children	Desire no more children		Desire more children	Desire no more children	
0-2 ..	227 (92.7)	18 (7.3)	245	73 (81.1)	17 (18.9)	90
3-4 ..	50 (48.10)	54 (51.92)	104	41 (34.2)	79 (65.8)	120
5 + ..	11 (12.3)	78 (87.7)	89	6 (7.4)	75 (92.6)	81
No. of women	288 (65.8)	150 (34.2)	438	120 (41.2)	171 (58.8)	291
Stand Value	(60.25)	(39.75)		(49.5)	(50.5)	

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

TABLE 4

Women by Number of Living Male Children and Desire or No Desire for Additional Children

No. of living male children	Joint Family		No. of women	Nuclear Family		No. of women
	Desire more children	Desire no more children		Desire more children	Desire no more children	
0 ..	130 (95.6)	6 (4.4)	136	47 (90.4)	5 (9.6)	52
1 ..	108 (82.4)	23 (17.6)	131	43 (53.1)	38 (46.9)	81
2 ..	37 (40.7)	54 (59.3)	91	20 (25.9)	57 (74.1)	77
3 & 4 + ..	13 (18.7)	67 (81.3)	80	10 (12.3)	71 (87.7)	81
No. of women ..	288 (65.8)	150 (34.2)	438	120 (41.2)	171 (58.8)	291
Stand. Value ..	(62.13)	(37.87)		(47.44)	(52.56)	

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

A cross tabulation of women of joint and nuclear family with regard to their desire or no desire for additional children against their willingness or unwillingness to learn family planning is attempted in the table 5 to see how far one determines the other, and to what extent there exists variation with regard to family types.

Willingness to Learn Family Planning

The number of living children to women is an important variable in affecting the attitude of women with regard to their willingness to learn family planning. The table 6, indicates that unlike the women of joint family, the number of women in nuclear family figures high in their willingness to learn family planning. The number of women willing to learn family planning increases with the rise in the number of living children in both the groups. But the high light here is that a greater proportion of women in joint family with 0-2 living children have shown their willingness to learn family planning in comparison to the women of nuclear family. And these women formed 40.9 per cent of the total number of women in joint family as against 36.6 per cent in nuclear family.

TABLE 5

Women by Desire or no Desire for Additional Children and Willingness to Learn Family Planning

Attitude toward learning family planning	Joint Family		No. of women	Nuclear Family		No. of women
	Desire more children	Desire no more children		Desire more children	Desire no more children	
Willing to learn family planning.	122 (42.4)	100 (66.2)	222	49 (40.8)	123 (71.9)	172
Unwilling to learn family planning.	166 (57.6)	50 (33.8)	216	71 (59.2)	48 (28.1)	119
No. of women ..	288 (65.8)	150 (34.2)	438	120 (41.2)	171 (58.8)	291

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

Among the women who desired no more additional children, a higher proportion of them in nuclear family expressed willingness to learn family planning in comparision to the women of joint family. Conversely, of the women who desired more additional children, a greater percentage of them in joint family expressed their willingness to learn family planning as compared to the number of women in nuclear family.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Level of Awareness and Practice and Willingness to Learn Family Planning

The table 7 presents the level of awareness, knowledge and practice of family planning among the women of joint and nuclear family. The figures indicate that comparatively a larger number of women of nuclear family were aware of family planning than the women of joint family. Strikingly enough those women of joint family who were aware of family planning, a greater percentage of them had knowledge of family planning methods in comparision to number of women in nuclear family. But the difference is negligibly small. However, the practice of family planning methods reported by the number of women of nuclear family were higher than the women of joint family.

The level of awareness and knowledge of family planning methods offers a feasible means in affecting the attitude of people. Therefore, the willingness of women to learn family planning is expected to depend on it. The table 8 attempts to portray this phenomenon in relation to family types.

TABLE 6

Women by Number of Living Children and Willingness to Learn Family Planning

No. of living children	Joint Family		No. of women	Nuclear Family		No. of women
	Willing to learn	Unwilling to learn		Willing to learn	Unwilling to learn	
0 — 2	100 (40.9)	144 (59.1)	244	33 (36.6)	57 (63.4)	90
3 — 4 ..	59 (56.2)	46 (43.8)	105	74 (61.7)	46 (38.3)	120
5 + ..	63 (70.8)	26 (29.2)	89	65 (80.2)	16 (19.8)	81
No. of women ..	222 (50.6)	216 (49.4)	438	172 (59.1)	119 (40.9)	291
Stand. value ..	(52.59)	(47.41)		(54.51)	(45.49)	

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

TABLE 7

Women by Awareness, Knowledge and Practice of Family Planning

Awareness, knowledge and practice	Joint Family		Nuclear Family	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Unaware	238	54.11	140	48.11
Aware	**200**	**45.89**	**151**	**51.89**
With knowledge	104	52.00	77	50.99
With no knowledge	96	48.00	74	49.01
Of those aware & with knowledge ..	**104**	**23.78**	**77**	**26.46**
Practice	14	13.46	13	16.88
No practice	90	86.54	64	83.12
Total ..	438	....	291	....

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

TABLE 8

Women by Awareness, Knowledge, Practice Level and Willingness to Learn Family Planning

Awareness, knowledge & practice level of family planning	Joint Family		No. of women	Nuclear Family		No. of women
	Willing to learn	Unwilling to learn		Willing to learn	Unwilling to learn	
Unaware ..	110 (46.22)	128 (53.78)	238	75 (53.57)	65 (46.43)	140
Aware ..	**112** (56.00)	**88** (44.00)	**200**	**97** (64.24)	**54** (35.76)	**151**
With knowledge ..	62 (59.62)	42 (40.38)	104	50 (64.94)	27 (35.06)	77
With no knowledge ..	50 (52.08)	46 (47.92)	96	47 (63.51)	27 (36.49)	74
No. of women ..	222 (50.60)	216 (49.40)	438	172 (59.11)	119 (40.89)	291

Figures in parentheses indicate percentages.

It is observed that the willingness to learn family planning increases with the increase in awareness and knowledge of family planning for all the women belonging to joint and nuclear family types. However, the willingness pictures high in the attitude of women belonging to nuclear family. Strikingly enough, even those women of nuclear family who were unaware of family planning, a higher percentage of them showed willingness in comparision to the women of joint family. The difference in the attitude between the women with knowledge and with no knowledge of family planning as reflected in their willingness widens more in joint family than nuclear family. Thus the women belonging to nuclear family portray a favourable disposition towards family planning irrespective of the fact whether they were aware or unaware of family planning. In a total picture, a greater number of women in nuclear family were willing to take family planning advice than the women of joint family.

Summary

The present finding unfolds a striking difference in the attitude of women belonging to joint and nuclear family types. That the women of nuclear family exhibited a more favourable attitude toward family planning than the women of joint family was very well manifested in their desire for additional children and willingness to learn family planning. It is a fact that the level of awareness and knowledge of family planning has great bearing on the attitude of women; but the striking difference due to these factors was more marked among the women of joint family than the nuclear family. Although the existing data on which the present analysis is built do not permit us to go deep into the problem pertaining to the relationship of family structure to the reproductive attitude of women but nonetheless, the study adds a new profile to the family planning research in India.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

AN INVESTIGATION INTO CERTAIN ASPECTS OF FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME IN URBAN AND SUB-URBAN SET UP

by K. C. Panda

Introduction

Many countries in the world are faced with the complex and serious challange of accelerated population growth. Mark Twain has called India a land of perpetual starvation and repeated pregnancies. This may be his own way of saying things but there is no denying the fact that except in a small section of the population repeated pregnancies are still in vogue. In a remark Arnold J. Toynbee in the New York Times has told to awaken the world to the danger of irresponsible human breeding, "If we manage to solve the problems of keeping and then ensuring peace, the next major problem may be that of limiting the world's population . . . If atomic weapons do not destroy all life, preventive medicine applied by public health authorities will allow the members of the human race to multiply up to the starvation point and beyond it, unless we can bring ourselves quickly to change our habits, and over-traditional attitudes in regard to the procreation of children". Husbands and wives must recognise "the number of children they have" is not exclusively their own private affair, but something in which, the world too has a say, since it is the world that will have to provide the food ration for the children if these are born into a world on the brink of starvation[1].

Hence economic planning and family planning have to move hand in hand if levels of living are to rise, that is, if economic development is to make any advance towards its objective and the desired social transformation realised. The Government of India is the first to have adopted a national policy of family planning. In 1951, in recommending the programme of family planning the First Five Year Plan stated . . . "that population control can be achieved only by the reduction of the birth rate to the extent necessary to stabilise population at a level consistent with the requirements of national economy." This can be secured only by the realisation of the need for family limitation on the wide scale by the people. In pursuance of the policy outlined, there has been a steady expansion of activities in the field of family planning especially in the Second Five Year Plan. The popularisation of the use of family planning methods through urban and rural clinics formed the core of Second Five Year Plan. The Third Five Year Plan rightly emphasized the urgent need for population control and stated, "the objectives of stabilising the population has certainly to be regarded as an essential element in the strategy of development." Although we are at the end of the Third Five Year Plan, it is doubtful if the natural birth rate has shown any decline[2]. India now has a larger population than the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. combined with only 2/5th of the land area of U.S.A.[3]. India is faced with the problem of a population of ~~43.02~~ 70 crores of people mostly illiterate and having comparatively low incomes increasing by 1.3 percent every year and with no certain prospect that resources will increase at the same rate.

Recently in a paper on ' Planned Development and population growth ', Mr. R. A. Gopalswami,[4] the then Director of the Institute of Applied Man Power Research, New Delhi, has categorically emphasized the need and urgency of family planning measure and has called for 20-year National Plan for birth control. This paper says, "if the present growth rate in population is allowed to continue unchecked, the population in the country will in 1981, be a little less than 72 crores which is almost twice as much as it was in 1951. The paper further delineates that if steps to reduce the birth rate is initiated immediately and the birth rate is brought down by half in the decade following 1967, the population in 1971 would be about 54 crores as against about 55 crores on the basis of uncontrolled births. The relief will become substantial in the decade 1971-81 and the population in 1981 will be about 66 crores against 72 crores, if it is left unchecked." From this statistical report it is obvious that, a wide spread campaign regarding spread and acceptance of family planning programme in urban and rural communities, is necessary to save our life and destiny, and with the preparations

1. Rajanayagam M., Family Planning in the Plantations. The 5th International Conference on Planned Parenthood: Report of the Proceedings. 1955 p. 87-94.
2. Chandrasekhar, C. - Fertility trends and National Policy, *Jl of Fam Welfare*, 1964 **10**, 3, 12-20.
3. Wadia, A. B. - Inaugural session—Address, *Jl of Family Welfare, 1964* **10**, 3, 5-8.
4. Gopalswami, R. A. - Planned development and population growth. *Report of Inst. Appl. Man Power Res.*, Delhi 1965.

This research work was supported by a Research Grant from the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of Orissa to the author. I am indebted to Dr. R. Kanungo, (Dalhousie University, Canada) for his assistance during the planning of this project.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

now afoot for execution of the programme in the Fourth Five Year Plan period the time has come for an objective assessment of the various aspects of family planning through experimental observations and field studies.

In fact, almost all nations in the world have recently embarked upon an all-out programme aiming to reduce the fertility level of their population. The relatively more sophisticated programme among these go beyond disseminating information on contraceptive knowledge and its supplies, to educating people on the physiology of reproduction and psychological factors associated with family limitation. It would therefore seem necessary that any serious endeavour of that type should also try to understand the process in which the couples decide about family planning, their ideas regarding sex education, family norms, spacing etc. An analysis of such phenomena as related to social, biological and economic background of people would be very much necessary with a view to create conducive social background for the spread and acceptance of a large scale family planning programme in different communities.

Problem

An intensive drive is now in progress in Orissa to spread and popularise family planning among the masses. Though the birth rate in Orissa is much below the National average according to 1962 report (All India average was 38 per 1000 annually as against 23.52 in Orissa), the need for limiting the size of families in this State is probably more vital than in most other parts of the country. It is backwardness and low standard of living of the people that make the reduction of the birth rate an important necessity for Orissa. And when a State is underdeveloped, the people are likely to be unresponsive to modern idea regarding planned parenthood or any technological application for a better and happier life than their existing way of life.

Hence in the present study, which is one of the series of studies reported by Panda and Kanungo,[5] an attempt has been made to investigate the following problems regarding family planning.

The extent to which people of different categories want to space their children ;

Their ideas regarding norms of children ;

Their knowledge regarding family planning;
The extent to which people practice birth control ;

Their willingness to adopt family planning in future ;

Whether children should be given sex-education and if so, what would be the medium of such education ;

The nature of decision making between husband and wife regarding acceptance of family planning programme and the knowledge and awareness of people regarding different family planning centres of their localities.

(These problems will be analysed in accordance with the subjective variables viz. sex, age, education etc. of the subjects included in the sample of this study)

Since social structure and climate apparently differs from State to State, it is believed that such an investigation would denfiitely help the research workers to make a cross-provincial comparison and secondly the modus operandi for promoting family planning can be determined easily and effectively if we are aware of the various norms, value systems and opinions regarding these issues. This method of investigation would be of great use in grappling with various practical problems related to family planning and reorganise the family planning action research programme.

Sample

The subjects of this study were the same 850 literate married persons, 500 males—350 females between 20 and 55 years of age residing in Cuttack city and its suburbs,[6] The Ss were selected following stratified random sampling technique to ensure representativeness of the various sub-groups residing in different localities. Of the total sample thus obtained 746 were from the Cuttack City proper and 104 from its suburbs, approximately representative of the population of the respective areas under investigation.

In the survey schedule, information was elicited regarding various personal data viz. age, sex, marital status, number of children, profession, income, education, practice of birth

5. Panda, K. C. & Kanungo, R. - A scale of Measurements of attitudes towards family planning : *Indian* Journal *Soc. Work.* 1965, 25, 2, 125-130.

6. Panda, K. C. - A study of measurements of attitudes towards Planned parenthood in Indian Urban and Suburban Community : *Jl. Soc. Psy.* 1967. (in press) : An analysis of the effective communication medias of family Planning based on cognitive evaluation of people : *Ind. Jl. Soc. Work.* 1967 (in press) : Comparative acceptability of various fertility control methods in urban and suburban set up. *J. Fam. Welfare.* 1967 (in press).

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

control and living area. On the basis of personal data the total sample was classified under various categories.[7]

Testing and Scoring Procedure

A schedule relating to eight different areas such as spacing, norms for children, sex education etc. was formulated. The Ss were asked to answer the items either in terms 'Yes' or 'No' or just by giving a tick mark against any one of the multiple items, as and when required.

The responses were tabulated under different categories seperately for different groups of Ss. The obtained frequency of scores were then converted into percentages. The results are presented in the text.

Results and Discussion

Table—1 presents the opinions of various groups of people regarding spacing of births and norms for children in percentages.

Spacing of Births

Family Planning envisages a reasonable gap between births in order to ensure health of the mother, the child and the child to be born in future. Normally, intervals should not be less than three years but in case of mothers with poor health, the periods should be longer. As a matter of fact, proper spacing is one of the main functions of family planning that represents an attitude towards life based on modern rationalism. Results revealed that people irrespective of age, education, income, urbanization, practice or birth control and number of children preferred a gap of three or more years in between two child births (average percentage 78). However almost ¼ of the people in the higher educated group do realise that a gap of two years is also reasonable. A clear cut difference was observed in the responses of the various professional groups and between males and females. The highest percent of the business group (91.2) reported to be in favour of 3 or more years interval, as against 78.1 per cent of service group. Comparatively more females (85.5%) indicated their preference for having children with an interval of 3 or more years than that of males (72.6%). Similar results have also been obtained in other parts of India[8].

Norms for Children

Most married couples want some children, at least 2 or 3 Some people want more children due to s.. of it or not.. Table-2, indicated that need for re the people included in this investiga- security. Ot ignorant of family planning prog- unemployment, r percentage of ignorance is on the health of th.. low educated, business and of studies in India income and sub-urban parents, after a certa.. education practice of become increasingly consci.. urbanization there is family and give more thou.. areness about the limitation of children[9]. Some o.. s children are come to a decision as to how many ramme. It is desire and try to limit the number Researches done on this line in India- number of other relevant points abou.. matter. People in rural areas prefer four chi.. whereas in urban the norm is for 3 children. No significant difference was found between the attitude of men and women as to whether more children are desired in studies conducted in Mysore[12], in Poona District[13] and in Badlapur[14].

In the present study, the people were asked to state their views as to the ideal number of children that persons in the present economic circumstances should have. The results presented in Table-1 pointed out that 48.7 per cent of the total sample were in favour of having 2 sons and 1 daughter and 36.3 percent desired 2 sons and 2 daughters or more. The females were quite consistent in their attitude towards number of children[14a] and for nearly half of the females, the desired norm of children is more than three in contrast to males who were statisfied with 2 sons—1 daughter (59.4%).

Further it is interesting to note that with increase in age, there is increase in need for more

7. Panda, K. C. - Op. cit
8. Malhotra, P. & Khan, L. - Family Planning knowledge and Practice among women attending some New Delhi, M. C. W. Centres, 1960-61. (*Mimeographed.*)
9. Singh, B. - Multipurpose Family Planning Research Project : *J. K. Institute of Human Relations* : 1958 (Mimeographed).
10. Dandekar, K. - Fertility survey in Nasik, Kolaba and Satara Districts : *Gokhale Inst. of Pol. and Ec.* No. 31, 1955.
11. Malhotra, P. - Factors favouring acceptance of Family Planning among women attending some New Dehli, M. C. W. Centres. *J. Fam. Welfare*, 1961, Dec. 1-18.
12. Chandrasekhar, C. - Fertility survey in Mysore State : Current Res. in Human fertility, *Milbank Memorial Fund Qrly.* 1955, 20-22 : The population trends and socio-economic development in selected areas of Mysore State, 1958 (*Mimeographed*).
13. Dandekar, V. M. - & Dandekar, K. Survey of fertility mortality in Poona District : *Gokhale Inst. of Pol. & Eco.* 1953, 115-173.
14. Morrison, W. A. - Attitudes of males towards Family Planning in Western Indian Village, *Milbank, Memor. Fund. Qrly.* 1956 : Attitudes towards family Planning in a Maharashtra Village, *Milbank Memor. Fund Qrly.*, 1956.

14a. K. C. Panda, op. cit.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

TABLE–3

Opinions of people towards sex education and their medias, Decision process and Knowledge of Family planning Centres.

Variable	N	Sex Education		Decision process		Knowledge of F. P. Centres		Medias of Sex. Educ.	Male	Female	Total
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No				
GENERAL ..	850	41.2	58.8	73.7	26.3	50.1	49.9	Books ..	24.8	44.7	30.6
Sex : Male ..	500	50.0	50.0	70.8	29.2	65.4	34.6	Parents ..	19.2	38.8	24.9
Female ..	350	29.4	70.6	78.0	22.0	28.3	71.7	Teachers ..	38.2	3.9	28.4
Age : Below 25 yrs. ..	220	36.8	63.2	75.9	24.1	36.8	63.2	Cinema ..	8.8	2.9	7.0
25-40 yrs. ..	528	41.8	58.2	72.7	27.3	55.5	44.5	Friends ..	8.8	9.7	9.1
Above 40 yrs. ..	102	50.0	50.0	74.5	25.5	51.0	49.0	Any other ..	..	..	..
Education :											
Literates ..	268	31.3	68.7	76.1	23.9	23.5	76.5				
Upto Matric ..	374	41.2	58.8	74.8	25.2	51.3	48.7				
High Educated ..	208	55.3	44.7	63.4	36.6	82.2	17.8				

Note—Scores are in percentage.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

Practice of Family Planning

In all, 36.4 percent of the people in general reported to be using one or the other method of contraception. This represents 29.4% males and 15.4% females. Although these percentages are quite small yet practice of family planning increases with increase in age, education, number of children, income and urbanization. The present study regarding practice of family planning is definitely discouraging and possibly such a state of affairs might be due to apprehension that family planning leads to limit the reproduction of females of superior rather than of inferior heredity.

Willingness to adopt family planning

The people were further asked to state whether they desire to adopt family planning to regulate their fertility. Over 75 per cent people expressed willingness to have family planning. Hence, the fact that a greater percentage of people are not practising birth control is not because they do not want it, but possibly because they are ignorant of it. Hence, if family planning movement has not greater impact upon people, it is not because people are not receptive but more due to pitfalls in our propaganda and administrative system. There is a general willingness to use family planning irrespective of any social, biological and personal factors, those generally regulate human behaviour.

Table-3 presents the responses of people regarding sex education, decision process among husband and wife, knowledge of family planning centres in the locality and the medias of sex education. The responses given in percentage, have been analysed only in relation to certain major variables which were believed to influence these factors greatly.

Sex Education

Though many factors enter into family life it is well accepted that sex factors are basic to human behaviour. Realising this, the Western countries which are economically advanced and the population problem is not so pressing, give high priority to family planning and sex education,[15] But this problem still suffers from a taboo in our country and a free discussion of the subject may even be considered as undesirable. Experience has shown that children seem to know as much about sex as do the elders and even are conscious of the nature of services rendered by a family planning worker. Very often their knowledge is inaccurate and full of undesirable expressions.[16] From a Psychological point of view it would seem that curiosity is a normal mental phenomena. Sooner or later every child wants to know how life begins and about process of reproduction and growth. It is therefore desirable to satisfy his curiosity towards sex through discussion on the subject rather than to risk improper knowledge and consequent maladjustment through a 'conspiracy of silence' For these reasons, sex education or family life education has been given consistent emphasis by various authors like Mace,[17] Kavinoky,[18] Anand, Perumal[19] and Seminar report 1955[20] to be included in the curriculum of the School and College in any form either as a part of nature study or Biology or as a separate branch of education. Such education leads to understanding and healthier sexual attitudes, it dispells ignorance, anxieties and conflicts.

The question then is whether they are to learn it correctly and under right educational and ethical setting with right values placed on it or be left to themselves to satisfy their curiosity in any manner ?

The seminar discussion on marriage councelling on sex education and allied subjects, at the All India Conference on family planning in 1955, concluded that " Parents should speak about sex matters to their children very naturally as they would, about any other every day matter and thus create an atmosphere where the child would freely ask questions,for children are known to be sensitive to sex taboos and do not then ask questions relating to sex; and that it is best for a mother to answer to her child without embarrassment simply and honestly, sex education should be satisfactorily given within the frame work of harmony in the family." The teacher should possess a well balanced personality and in fairness to the child, should answer honestly. This means that necessity of sex education is imperative but the medium are uncertain. In the present study, both these problems have undertaken whether or not they should be given sex education and if

15. Gupta, P. - Family Planning and sex education : *Family Planning News*. 1961, 2, 10, 223-225.

16. Anand, P. - Some questions and answers : *F. P. News*, 1963, 4, 5, 89-9.

17. Mace, D. R. - Education for Family Life, *6th Int. Conf.P. P. Proc.* 1957, 208-211.

18. Kavinoky, N. - Marriage Councelling and Sex education : *5th Int. Conf. P. P. Proc. 1955*, 252-257.

19. Perumal, V. - Family Planning from various points of view : *Fam. Plan-ning News*. 1964. 5, 3, 2-7.

20. Seminar group Discussion III. - Marriage councelling, Sex-Education and Allied subjects : *2nd All India Conf. on Family Planning* 1955, 105-106.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

so, by whom and the conscientious opinion of the parents are taken in this regard.

Table-3 , revealed that only 41.2 percent of people favoured the idea of imparting sex education to children and majority were against it; females vehemently opposed this whereas opinion of males were equally divided both for and against the problem. Although with increase in age and education there is corresponding increase in approval of sex education, yet the percent of people favouring this idea is not remarkable and clear.

As regards medium of sex-education, the opinion of the people who were willing to give sex education to children were taken into account. The total No. of Ss thus came to 353-250 males and 103 females. It was observed from Table-3, that people in general, consider books, teachers and parents (in order of priority) to impart such education ; and reject the necessity of cinema and friend circle for this purpose. A significant difference in opinion on this problem was observed between males and females. Teachers, books and parents were considered by males Ss as appropriate medium of sex education. But very interestingly, the females rejected teachers from this list as medium of imparting sex education, (Teachers 3.9%) the one which ranked first in the list by males. Thus in the opinion of the present author, whatever course of action one may follow, an enlightened opinion should be created to make a careful study of the subject in its various aspects to bring people to bear a rational outlook towards the problem.

Decision process between husband and wife

Family planning is a self-imposed problem and as such decisions regarding family planning is a joint responsibility of the husband and wife unless the social role or personality is otherwise. It is importat to note however, how they do come to take a decision on such problem, which might help us to reform our communication process. Results presented in Table-3 would reveal that nearly ¾ of the people come to a decision only after consulting their husband or wife as the case may be. While females expressed willingness more than males, the highly educated group favoured for an independent decision. Any way from the social point of view both should be considered as vital parties and each to be tackled separately.

Knowledge of Family Planning Centres

Practice of family planning and knowledge of family planning centres or clinics are intimately related. A low percentage were reported to be using contraceptives and Table-3 delineated that about half the people are aware of the location of such clinics. The males (65.4%) and the high educated (82.2%) are actually informed of these centres more than the females (28.3%) and less educated people (23.5%), suggesting thereby in effectiveness of the propaganda and persuation system on the problem of family planning.

It will be particularly useful if the people are further convinced regarding spacing and number of children, because it is very difficult to accept and execute such ideals. What is more important is that more follow-up works are required than mere propagation of ideas. The suburban and urban people are interestingly same in their ideologies and as such do not require any differential treatment because of their social contact and spatial affinity with urbans.

Summary

The study investigated into various aspects of the family planning programme with 850 Ss married and randomly selected from an urban and sub-urban set up. The problem was investigated by using a questionnaire and the following conclusions are derived from the results obtained :

(a) People in general, irrespective of any personal variable, indicated their preference for spacing of births by 3 or more years. In case of females and business group, the percentage of such preference is very high ;

(b) The general trend of opinion regarding the number of children wanted is 2 sons and 1 daughter, the need for more children by females being greater than the males.

(c) Age, education, income, practice of birth control, and urbanization have been found to be closely linked with awareness of family planning. However about half the people did not know of Family Planning yet.

(d) A very low percentage of people are using contraceptive devices.

(e) Nearly ¾ths of the people of all the groups are interested to know of family planning and are willing to adopt such techniques.

(f) Sex education for children was supported by a little less than half of the people but it was vehemently opposed by females.

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

(g) As regards media of sex education a greater percentage of people considered books, parents, and teachers to be reliable and effective in this regard.

(h) As regards decision making process, ¾th of women and men reported that they consult each other while deciding any thing specifically on sex matters and family planning.

(i) Only 50 percent of the people posses knowledge about family planning centres. The results also proved certain significant difference between various groups of Ss and are considered to be quite useful in reorienting the programme of Planned Parenthood.

J.M. College of Education
Raipur, Bantalab
Jammu
Acc. No. 2992 (D)
Dated 3/2/2016

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

Gandhi Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant

IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS OF

Memorial College Of Education Bantalab Jammu

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES

1. THE PROBLEM OF WORLD LIQUIDITY AND OTHER ESSAYS
Edited by M. R. Sinha PP 122 Rs. 10 : $ 3 : 15sh
"The book succeeds in focussing attention upon many growth problems of the underdeveloped world".

— *The National Herald, Lucknow*

2. SAVINGS IN THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF POST WAR JAPAN
Edited by M. R. Sinha PP 118 Rs. 10 : $ 3 : 15sh
"The book will help to understand what Japan is doing to-day and how she has been able to achieve her present position.

— *Bharat Jyoti*

3. ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT
by Dr. D. L. Narayana, Professor and Head of the Economics Department, S. V. University, Tirupati. PP 128 Rs. 10 : $ 3 : 15sh

4. ECONOMICS OF MANPOWER PLANNING: A SYMPOSIUM
Edited by M. R. Sinha PP 204 Rs. 15 : $ 4 : 20sh
"This is a very useful book and needs to be on the shelves of our planners, industrialists, senior civil servants and university professors."

— *The Economic Times (12–12–1966)*

5. A DECADE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING IN INDIA
Edited by M. R. Sinha : Foreword by : Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao
Introduction by : Shri Y. B. Chavan PP 304 Rs. 20 : $ 6 : 30sh
"This compilation certainly makes a useful contribution to the literature on Indian planning."

— *The Financial Express*

6. SAVINGS IN ASIAN ECONOMY
Edited by M. R. Sinha PP 230 Rs. 20 : $ 6 : 30sh
"These studies are likely to be of interest for quite some time to come."

— *The Economic Times (31–1–1966)*

7. A DECADE OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA
by Dr. M. Shrinivasan PP 164 Rs. 12–50 : $ 4 : 20sh
"The book will be of use to the general public and to those specialists who desire to know the details of recent plans and achievement."

— *The Hindu (31–7–1966)*

Order your copy from

European Representative
BOXER BOOKS, INC.,
Seefeldstrasse, 8008 Zurich
Switzerland

ASIAN STUDIES PRESS
23/354 Azad Nagar
Jaiprakash Road
Andheri : Bombay–58–AS

CC-0 Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.Funding by IKS-MoE-2025-Grant